1549

A

PHILOSOPHICAL AND POLITICAL

HISTORY

OF THE

SETTLEMENTS AND TRADE

OF THE

EUROPEANS

IN THE

EAST AND WEST INDIES.

REVISED, AUGMENTED, AND PUBLISHED,
IN TEN VOLUMES,
BY THE ABBÉ RAYNAL.

NEWLY TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH,
BY J. O. JUSTAMOND, F.R.S.

WITH A

New Set of Maps adapted to the Work, and a copious Index.

IN SIX VOLUMES.

VOL. III.

SECOND EDITION.

LONDON:
FOR A. STRAHAN; AND T. CADELL, JUN. AND W. DAVIES,
CCESSORS TO MR. CADELL), IN THE STRAND; AND
FOR J. MUNDELL & CO. EDINBURGH.

1798.

1549

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Conquest of Peru by the Spaniards. Changes that have happened in this Empire since that Revolution.

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Can the conquests of the Spaniards in the New World be approved of?

IT has not been my intention to be the panegyrist of the conquerors of the other hemisphere. I have not suffered my judgment to be so far misled by the brilliancy of their successes, as to be blind to their crimes and acts of injustice. My view is to write history, and I almost always write it with my eyes bathed in tears. Astonishment hath sometimes succeeded grief. I have been surprised that none of these savage warriors should have preferred the more certain mode of mildness and humanity, and that they should have rather chosen to show themselves as tyrants than as benefactors. What strange infatuation hath prevented them from perceiving, that, while they destroyed the countries which they seized upon, they were injuring themselves, and that their cruelties obliged them to give up a more quiet and more lucrative possession of them?

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It hath been aſſerted, that, in countries where ma[n had] not yet appeared, the moſt timid animals came near him without fear. I can never be perſuaded, that, at the firſt aſpect of an European, the ſavage man can have been more wild than the animals. It was undoubtedly a fatal experience which informed him of the danger of ſuch familiarity.

What then! ſhall nations be more cruel among themſelves, than the moſt oppreſſive ſovereigns are towards their ſubjects? One ſociety muſt then devour another! Man will be more fierce than the tyger! Shall reaſon have been given to him merely as a ſubſtitute in him to every maleficent inſtinct; and ſhall his annals be nothing more than the annals of his perverſeneſs? O God! why didſt thou create man? Thou certainly didſt know, that, for one inſtant in which thou ſhouldſt be able to look upon thy work with complacency, thou ſhouldſt turn thine eyes away from it a hundred times! Thy preſcience certainly foreſaw the atrocious acts which the Spaniards were to commit in the New World!

We are here going to diſplay ſcenes ſtill more terrible than thoſe which have ſo often made us ſhudder. They will be uninterruptedly repeated in thoſe immenſe regions which remain for us to go over. The ſword will never be blunted; and we ſhall not ſee it ſtop till it meets with no more victims to ſtrike.

Extravagances and cruelties that mark the firſt ſteps of the Spaniards in South America.

We ſhall again begin our accounts with Columbus. This great man had diſcovered the continent of America without ever landing upon it. It was not till after the iſland of San Domingo was firmly eſtabliſhed, that he thought proper to extend his enterpriſes. He imagined, that beyond this continent there was another ocean, which muſt terminate at the Eaſt Indies; and that theſe two ſeas might have a communication with each other. In order to diſcover it, he ſailed, in 1502, as cloſe along the coaſt as poſſible. He touched at all places that were acceſſible; and, contrary to the cuſtom of other navigators who behaved in the countries which they viſited in ſuch a manner as if

ere never to return to them, he treated the inhabitants with a degree of kindneſs that gained their affection. The gulf of Darien particularly engaged his obſervation. He thought that the rivers which poured into it were the great canal he had been in ſearch of through ſo many imminent dangers and exceſſive fatigues. Diſappointed in theſe expectations, he wiſhed to leave a ſmall colony upon the river Belem, in the country of Veragua. The avidity, the pride, and the barbariſm of his countrymen prevented him from having the ſatiſfaction of forming the firſt European eſtabliſhment upon the continent of the new hemiſphere.

Some years elapſed after this, and ſtill the Spaniards had not fixed themſelves upon any ſpot. As theſe adventurers only received from government the permiſſion of making diſcoveries, it never once entered their minds to employ themſelves in agriculture or commerce. The proſpect of diſtant fortunes that might have been made by theſe prudent means, was far above the prejudices of theſe barbarous times. There was nothing but the allurement of immediate gain that could ſtimulate men to enterpriſes ſo bold as thoſe for which this century was diſtinguiſhed. Gold alone attracted them to the continent of America, and made them brave dangers, diſeaſes, and death, which they were expoſed to in the courſe of their voyage, at their arrival, or on their return; and, by a terrible but juſt vengeance, the cruelty of the Europeans, and their luſt of gold, exhauſted at once the two hemiſpheres of their inhabitants, and deſtruction raged equally among thoſe who were the plunderers and aſſaſſins, as among the plundered people.

It was not till the year 1509, that Ojeda and Niqueſſa formed, though ſeparately, the deſign of making ſolid and laſting conqueſts. To encourage them in their reſolution, Ferdinand gave to the firſt the government of the countries that begin at Cape de la Vela, and terminate at the gulf of Darien; and to the ſecond, that of all the ſpace extending from this

BOOK VII. famous gulf to Cape Gracias à Dios. They were of them to announce to the people, at their land the tenets of the Chriſtian religion, and to inform them of the gift which the Roman pontiff had made of their country to the king of Spain. If the ſavages refuſed to ſubmit quietly to this double yoke, the Spaniards were authoriſed to purſue them with fire and ſword, and to reduce whole nations to ſlavery.

Is it then the head of the moſt holy of all religions who gives to another what does not belong to him? And is it a Chriſtian ſovereign who accepts of the gift? And are the conditions agreed upon between them, ſubmiſſion to the European monarch, or ſlavery; baptiſm, or death? Upon the bare recital of a contract ſo unheard of, we ſhudder with horror, and we pronounce, that the man who does not partake of the ſame ſenſation, is a ſtranger to every idea of morality, to every ſentiment, and to every notion of juſtice; a man who is unworthy of being argued with. Abominable pontiff! And if theſe countries of which thou doſt diſpoſe have a lawful proprietor, is it thy advice that he ſhould be ſpoiled of them? If they have a legitimate ſovereign, is it thy advice that his ſubjects ſhould break their allegiance? If they have Gods, is it thy advice that they ſhould be impious? And thou, ſtupid prince, doſt thou not perceive, that the perſon who confers theſe rights upon thee, arrogates them to himſelf; and that, by accepting of them, thou doſt abandon thy country, thy ſceptre, and thy religion, to the mercy of an ambitious ſophiſt, and of the moſt dangerous ſyſtem of Machiaveliſm?

But it was a more eaſy matter to grant theſe abſurd and atrocious privileges, than to put the barbarous and ſuperſtitious adventurers, who ſolicited ſuch rights, in poſſeſſion of them. The Indians rejected every kind of intercourſe with a ſet of rapacious ſtrangers, who threatened equally their life and their liberty. Arms were not more favourable to the Spaniards, than their perfidious careſſes. The people of the continent, accuſtomed to carry on war with each other, received

them with a boldneſs unexperienced in the iſlands that had been ſo eaſily ſubdued. Poiſoned arrows were ſhowered upon them from all quarters; and not one of thoſe that were wounded eſcaped a death more or leſs dreadful. To the arrows of the enemy, other cauſes of deſtruction were ſoon joined: ſhipwrecks unavoidable in theſe unknown latitudes; an almoſt continual want of ſubſiſtence upon a country totally uncultivated; and diſeaſes peculiar to this climate, which is the moſt unwholeſome one in America. The few Spaniards who had eſcaped ſo many calamities, and who could not return to San Domingo, collected themſelves at St. Mary's, in the province of Darien.

They lived there in a ſtate of anarchy, when Vaſco Nugnès de Balboa appeared among them. This man, who was honoured by the companions of his crimes with the ſurname of Hercules, had a robuſt conſtitution, an intrepid courage, and a popular eloquence. Theſe qualities made them chooſe him for their chief; and all his actions proved that he was worthy to command the villains whoſe ſuffrage he had obtained. Judging that more gold would be found in the inland parts than upon the coaſts, from whence it had been ſo repeatedly taken, he plunged himſelf among the mountains. He found at firſt in the country, it is ſaid, ſome of that ſame ſpecies of little white men, as are to be met with in Africa, and in certain of the Aſiatic iſlands. They are covered with a down of a gliſtening white colour. They have no hair; their eyes are red; and they only ſee well in the night-time. They are feeble; and their faculties appear to be more circumſcribed than thoſe of other men. Theſe ſavages, if it be true that they exiſted, were few in number; but others were found of a different ſpecies, brave and hardy enough to defend their rights. They had a very extraordinary cuſtom among them, which was, that the huſbands on the death of their wives, and the wives on the death of their huſbands, uſed to cut off the end of a finger; ſo that by looking merely on

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their hands, one might fee whether they were widowers or widows, and how often they had been fo.

Nothing has hitherto been, or will probably ever be faid, that can fatisfactorily explain the various perverfions of reafon. If the women alone had been obliged to practife this whimfical ceremony, it would be natural to fufpect that it had been intended to prevent the impofture of a widow, who might wifh to pafs for a virgin to her fecond hufband. But this conjecture would lofe its force, when applied to the hufbands, whofe condition could never be a matter of fuch confequence, as that it fhould be carefully indicated by indelible figns. This cuftom hath obtained in other countries; but the following is peculiar to Darien.

When a widow died, fuch of her children whofe tender age rendered it impoffible for them to provide for their own fubfiftence, were buried in the fame grave with her. As no one would take the charge of thefe orphans, the nation deftroyed them, to prevent their being ftarved to death. The charity of thefe barbarians extended no further. This is the moft atrocious act to which the deplorable ftate of favage life was ever able to impel mankind.

Notwithftanding thefe ferocious manners, Balboa, fupported by the obftinacy of his difpofition, fpurred on by the infatiable cupidity of his foldiers, and with the affiftance of fome packs of thofe blood-thirfty dogs which had been of fo much fervice to the Spaniards in all their conquefts, at length fucceeded in deftroying the inhabitants of Darien, and in difperfing or fubduing them.

The Spaniards acquire the firft notion of Peru.

One day, as the conquerors were difputing with each other about gold, with a degree of warmth that feemed to threaten fome act of violence, a young Cacique overturned the fcales in which they were weighing it. *Why*, faid he to them, with an air of difdain, *why do you quarrel for fuch a trifle? If it be for this ufelefs metal that you have quitted your country, and that you maffacre fo many people, I will conduct you into a region*

where it is ſo common, that it is employed for the meaneſt purpoſes. Being urged to explain himſelf more clearly, he aſſured them, that, at a little diſtance from the ocean which waſhed the country of Darien, there was another ocean which led to this rich country. The opinion immediately and univerſally prevailed, that this was the ſea which Columbus had ſo earneſtly ſought after; and on the firſt of September 1513, one hundred and ninety Spaniards, attended by a thouſand Indians, who were to ſerve them as guides, and to carry their proviſions and baggage, ſet out to reconnoitre it.

From the place whence this troop began their march, to the one they were going to, there was no more than ſixty miles; but it was neceſſary to climb ſo many ſteep mountains, to paſs ſuch large rivers, to traverſe ſuch deep moraſſes, to penetrate into ſuch thick foreſts, and to diſperſe, perſuade, or deſtroy ſo many fierce nations; that it was not till after a march of five-and-twenty days, that men accuſtomed to dangers, fatigues, and wants, arrived at the place of their expectations. Without a moment's delay, Balboa, armed at all points, in the manner of the ancient chivalry, advanced ſome way into the South Sea. *Spectators of both hemiſpheres,* exclaimed this barbarian, *I call you to witneſs that I take poſſeſſion of this part of the univerſe for the crown of Caſtile. My ſword ſhall defend what my arm hath given to it.* Already was the croſs planted upon the continent, and the name of Ferdinand inſcribed upon the bark of ſome of the trees.

Theſe ceremonies gave to the Europeans in thoſe days the dominion of all the countries in the New World, where they could introduce their ſanguinary ſteps. Accordingly, the Spaniards thought they had a right to exact from the neighbouring people a tribute in pearls, metals, and proviſions. Every teſtimony was united in confirming what had been at firſt ſaid of the riches of the empire that was called Peru, and the robbers who meditated the conqueſt of it, re-

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turned to Darien, where they were to collect the forces necessary for so difficult an enterprise.

Balboa expected that he should be employed to conduct this great design. His companions had placed their confidence in him. He had thrown into the public coffers more treasure than any one of these adventurers. In the opinion of the public, the discovery he had just made, had put him on a level with Columbus. But by an instance of that injustice and ingratitude so common in courts, where merit cannot prevail against favour; where a great commander is superseded in the midst of his triumphs by an unfit person; where a dissipating and rapacious favourite displaces an economical minister of finance; where the general good, and services done, are equally forgotten; and where revolutions in the great offices of state often become objects of mirth and pleasantry; Pedrarias was chosen in his stead. The new commander, as jealous as he was cruel, had his predecessor confined; he ordered him to take his trial, and afterwards caused him to be beheaded. His subalterns, by his orders, or with his consent, pillaged, burnt, and massacred on all sides, without any distinction of allies or enemies; and it was not till after they had destroyed to the extent of three hundred leagues of the country, that in 1518 he transferred the colony of St. Mary, on the borders of the Pacific ocean, to a place that received the name of Panama.

Three Spaniards undertake the conquest of Peru without any assistance from government.

Some years passed away without this establishment having been able to fulfil the great and important purposes for which it was destined. At length, three men of obscure birth undertook, at their own expence, to subvert an empire that had subsisted with glory for several ages.

Francis Pizarre, who is the most known among them, was the natural son of a gentleman of Estramadura. His education had been so neglected, that he could not read. The tending of flocks, which was his first employment, not being suitable to his charac-

ter, he embarked for the New World. His avarice and ambition inſpired him with inconceivable activity. He joined in every expedition, and ſignalized himſelf in moſt of them; and he acquired, in the ſeveral ſituations in which he was employed, that knowledge of men and things, which is indiſpenſably neceſſary to advancement, but eſpecially to thoſe who by their birth have every difficulty to contend with. The uſe he had hitherto made of his natural and acquired abilities, perſuaded him that nothing was above his talents; and he formed the plan of exerting them againſt Peru.

To theſe deſigns he aſſociated Diego de Almagro, whoſe birth was equivocal, but whoſe courage was proved. He had ever been found temperate, patient, and indefatigable, in thoſe camps in which he had grown old. In this ſchool he had acquired a frankneſs which is more frequently learnt here than in other ſituations; as well as that obduracy and cruelty which are but too common.

The fortune of two ſoldiers, though conſiderable, being found inſufficient for the conqueſt they meditated, they joined themſelves to Fernanda de Luques. He was a mercenary prieſt, who had amaſſed prodigious wealth by all the methods which ſuperſtition renders eaſy to his profeſſion, and by ſome means peculiar to the manners of the age he livid in.

As the baſis of their aſſociation, the confederates mutually agreed, that each ſhould engage the whole of his property in this enterpriſe; that the wealth accruing from it ſhould be equally ſhared, and that they ſhould reciprocally obſerve an inviolable fidelity. The parts that each of them were to take in this great ſcene were diſtributed as the good of the common cauſe required. Pizarro was to command the troops, Almagro conduct the ſuccours, and Luques prepare the means. This plan of ambition, avarice, and ferociouſneſs, was completed by fanaticiſm. Luques publicly conſecrated a hoſt; part of which he ate, and divided the reſt between his two aſſociates; all three ſwearing, by the

blood of God, that, to enrich themſelves, they would not ſpare the blood of man.

The expedition, commenced under theſe horrible auſpices, towards the middle of November 1524, with one veſſel, one hundred and twelve men, and four horſe, was not fortunate. It was ſeldom that Pizarro was able to land; and in the few places where it was poſſible for him to come on ſhore, he met with nothing but plains deluged with water, impenetrable foreſts, and ſome ſavages, little diſpoſed to treat with him. Almagro, who brought him a reinforcement of ſeventy men, did not meet with more encouraging adventures; and he even loſt an eye in a very ſharp engagement he was obliged to ſuſtain againſt the Indians. More than one half of theſe intrepid Spaniards had periſhed by hunger, by the ſword, or by the climate; when Los Rios, who had ſucceeded to Pedrarias, ſent orders to thoſe who had eſcaped ſo many calamities, to return to the colony without delay. They all obeyed; all of them, except thirteen, who, faithful to their chief, reſolved to follow his fortune to the end. They found it at firſt more adverſe than it had hitherto been; for they were obliged to paſs ſix whole months in the iſland of Gorgon, the moſt unwholeſome, moſt barren, and moſt dreadful ſpot there was perhaps upon the globe. But at length their deſtiny grew milder: with a very ſmall veſſel, which had been ſent them merely from motives of compaſſion, to remove them from this place of deſolation, they continued their voyage, and landed at Tumbez, no inconſiderable village of the empire which they propoſed one day to invade. From this road, where every thing bore the marks of civilization, Pizarro returned to Panama, where he arrived at the latter end of the year 1527 with ſome gold duſt, ſome vaſes of that precious metal, ſome vicunas, and three Peruvians, deſtined, ſooner or later, to ſerve as interpreters.

Far from being diſcouraged by the misfortunes that had been experienced, the three aſſociates were inflamed with a more ardent paſſion for treaſures which were

now better known to them. But they were in want of soldiers and of subsistence; and the colony denied them both these succours. The ministry, whose support Pizarro himself had come into Europe to solicit, were more favourably inclined. They authorised, without reserve, the levying of men, and the purchase of provisions; and added to this indefinite liberty every favour which drew nothing from the treasury.

Nevertheless, the associates, by combining all their means, could not equip more than three small vessels; nor collect any more than one hundred and forty-four infantry, and thirty-six horse. This was very little for the great views that were to be fulfilled; but in the New World the Spaniards expected every thing from their arms and their courage; and Pizarro did not hesitate to embark in the month of February 1531. The knowledge he had acquired of these seas, made him avoid the calamities that had thwarted his first expedition; and he met with no other misfortune than that of being obliged, by contrary winds, to land at the distance of one hundred leagues from the harbour where he had intended to disembark. The Spaniards were therefore obliged to go to the place by land. They followed the coast with great difficulty, compelling the inhabitants on their march to furnish them with provisions, plundering them of the gold they possessed, and giving themselves up to that spirit of rapine and cruelty which distinguished the manners of those barbarous times. The island of Puna, which defended the road, was taken by storm, and the troops entered victorious into Tumbez, where disorders of every kind detained them for three whole months. The arrival of two reinforcements, that came from Nicaragua, afforded them some consolation for the anxiety they felt on account of this delay. These reinforcements, indeed, consisted only of thirty men each; but they were commanded by Sebastian Benalcazar and by Ferdinand Soto, who had both of them acquired a brilliant reputation. The Spaniards were

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not disturbed in their first conquest, and we must mention the reason of it.

Manner in which Pizarro, the chief of the expedition, makes himself master of the empire.

The empire of Peru, which, like most other dominions, had in its origin but little extent, had been successively enlarged. It had in particular received a considerable aggrandizement from the eleventh emperor, Huyana Capac, who had possessed himself by force of the vast territory of Quito, and who, to legitimate as much as possible his usurpation, had married the sole heiress of the dethroned monarch. From this union, reprobated equally by the laws and by prejudice, Atabalipa was born, who after the death of his father claimed the inheritance of his mother. This succession was contested by his elder brother Huascar, who was born of another bed, and whose birth had no stain upon it. Two such powerful interests induced the competitors to take up arms. One of them had the people in his favour, and the custom immemorial of the indivisibility of the empire; but the other had previously secured the best troops. The one who had the troops on his side was conqueror, put his rival in chains, and becoming more powerful than he had expected, was master of all the provinces.

These troubles, which for the first time had agitated Peru, were not entirely appeased when the Spaniards appeared there. In the confusion in which the whole kingdom was still involved, no one thought of molesting them on their march, and they arrived without the least obstruction at Caxamalca. Atabalipa, whom particular circumstances had conducted into the neighbourhood of this imperial palace, immediately sent them some fruits, corn, emeralds, and several vases of gold or silver. He did not however conceal from their interpreter his desire that they should quit his territories; and he declared that he would go the next morning to concert with their chief the proper measures for this retreat.

To put himself in readiness for an engagement, without suffering the least preparation of war to be perceived, was the only disposition that Pizarro made

for the reception of the prince. He planted his cavalry in the gardens of the palace, where they could not be seen: the infantry was in the court; and his artillery was pointed towards the gate where the emperor was to enter.

Atabalipa came without suspicion to the place appointed. He was attended by about fifteen thousand men. He was carried on a throne of gold, and gold glittered in the arms of his troops. He turned to the principal officers, and said to them: *These strangers are the messengers of the gods; be careful of offending them.*

The procession was now drawing near the palace, which was occupied by Pizarro, when a dominican, named Vincent de Valverdo, with a crucifix in one hand, and his breviary in the other, came up to the emperor. He stopped the prince in his march, and made him a long speech, in which he expounded to him the Christian religion, pressed him to embrace that form of worship, and proposed to him to submit to the king of Spain, to whom the Pope had given Peru.

The emperor, who heard him with a great deal of patience, replied, *I am very willing to be the friend of the king of Spain, but not his vassal; the Pope must surely be a very extraordinary man, to give so liberally what does not belong to him. I shall not change my religion for another; and if the Christians adore a God who died upon a cross, I worship the sun, who never dies.* He then asked Vincent where he had learned all that he had said of God and the creation? *In this book*, replied the monk, presenting at the same time his breviary to the emperor. Atabalipa took the book, examined it on all sides, fell a laughing, and, throwing away the breviary, added, *This book tells me nothing of all this.* Vincent then turned towards the Spaniards, crying out with all his might, *Vengeance, my friends, vengeance! Christians, do you not see how he despises the gospel? Kill these dogs, who trample under foot the law of God.*

The Spaniards, who probably had with difficulty re-

BOOK VII. ſtrained that fury, and that thirſt of blood, which the ſight of the gold and of the infidels had inſpired them with, inſtantly obeyed the dominican. Let the reader judge of the impreſſion that muſt have been made on the Peruvians by the ſight of the horſes who trampled upon them, and by the noiſe and effect of the cannon and muſketry which beat them down. They fled with ſuch precipitation, that they fell one upon another. A dreadful maſſacre was made of them. Pizarro himſelf advanced towards the emperor, made his infantry put to the ſword all that ſurrounded his throne, took the monarch priſoner, and purſued all the reſt of the day thoſe who had eſcaped the ſword of his ſoldiers. A multitude of princes of the race of the Incas, the miniſters, the flower of the nobility, all that compoſed the court of Atabalipa, were maſſacred. Even the crowd of women, old men, and children, who were come from all parts to ſee their emperor, were not ſpared. While this carnage continued, Vincent ceaſed not to animate the aſſaſſins who were tired with ſlaughter, exhorting them to uſe not the edge but the point of their ſwords, to inflict deeper wounds. When the Spaniards returned from this infamous maſſacre, they paſſed the night in drunkenneſs, dancing, and all the exceſſes of debauchery.

The emperor, though cloſely guarded, ſoon diſcovered the extreme paſſion of his enemies for gold. This circumſtance determined him to offer them for his ranſom as much of this metal as his priſon, which was two-and-twenty feet in length, and ſixteen in breadth, could contain, and to as great a height as the arm of a man could reach. His propoſal was accepted. But while thoſe of his miniſters, in whom he had moſt confidence, were employed in collecting what was neceſſary to enable him to fulfil his engagements, he was informed that Huaſcar had promiſed three times as much to ſome Spaniards who had found an opportunity of converſing with him, if they would conſent to reinſtate him upon the throne of his an-

ceſtors. He was alarmed at this incipient negotiation; and his apprehenſions made him reſolve to ſtrangle a rival who appeared ſo dangerous. BOOK VII.

In order to diſſipate the ſuſpicions which ſuch an action muſt neceſſarily excite in his keepers, Atabalipa urged with freſh zeal the collecting of the metals ſtipulated for the recovery of his liberty. They were brought in from all ſides as faſt as the diſtance of the places, and the confuſion that prevailed, would allow. The whole would have been completed in a little time; but theſe heaps of gold inceſſantly expoſed to the greedy eyes of the conquerors, ſo inflamed their cupidity, that it was impoſſible to delay any longer the diſtribution of them. The fifth part of the whole, which the government had reſerved to itſelf, was delivered to the agents of the treaſury. A hundred thouſand piaſtres, or 540,000 livres [22,500l.], were ſet apart for the body of troops Almagro had juſt brought up, and which were ſtill upon the coaſts. Each of Pizarro's cavalry received 43,200 livres [1800l.], and each of his infantry 21,600 [883l. 6s. 8d.]. The general, and the officers, had ſums proportioned to their rank in the army.

Theſe fortunes, the moſt extraordinary that have ever been recorded in hiſtory, did not mitigate the barbarity of the Spaniards. Atabalipa had given his gold, and his name had ſerved to keep the people in ſubjection: it was now time, therefore, to put an end to him. Vincent ſaid that he was a hardened prince, who ought to be treated like Pharaoh. The interpreter Philippillo, who had a criminal intercourſe with one of his women, might be diſturbed in his pleaſures. Almagro was apprehenſive, that, while he was ſuffered to live, the army of his colleague might be deſirous of appropriating all the booty to itſelf as part of the emperor's ranſom. Pizarro had been deſpiſed by him, becauſe, being leſs informed than the meaneſt of the ſoldiers, he knew not how to read. Theſe circumſtances, even more perhaps than political reaſons, occaſioned the emperor's death to be determined upon.

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The Spaniards had the effrontery to bring him to a formal trial; and this atrocious farce was followed with those horrid consequences that must necessarily have been expected from it.

After this judicial assassination, the murderers overran Peru with that thirst of blood and plunder which directed all their actions. Had they shown some degree of moderation and humanity, they would probably have made themselves masters of this vast empire without drawing the sword. A people naturally mild, accustomed for a long time past to the most blind submission, ever faithful to the masters it had pleased Heaven to give them, and astonished at the terrible spectacle they had just been beholding; such a nation would have submitted to the yoke without much reluctance. The plundering of their houses and of their temples, the outrages done to their wives and daughters; cruelties of all kinds succeeding each other without interruption: such a variety of calamities stirred up the people to revenge, and they found commanders to guide their resentment.

Numerous armies at first obtained some advantages over a small number of tyrants lost in these immense regions; but even these trifling successes were not durable. Several of the adventurers, who had enriched themselves by the ransom of Atabalipa, had quitted their standards, that they might go elsewhere to enjoy, in a more peaceable manner, a property so rapidly acquired. Their fortune inflamed the minds of men in the Old and in the New World, and they hastened from all quarters to this country of gold. The consequence of this was, that the Spaniards multiplied in a less time at Peru than in the other colonies. They soon amounted to the number of five or six thousand; and then all resistance was at an end. Those of the Indians who were the most attached to their liberty, to their government, and to their religion, took refuge at a distance among inaccessible mountains. Most of them submitted to the conqueror.

A revolution so remarkable hath been a subject of

astonishment to all nations. Peru is a country very difficult of access, where one must continually climb mountains, and perpetually march in narrow passes and defiles. Troops are there obliged to be incessantly passing and repassing torrents or rivers, the banks of which are always steep. Four or five thousand men, with a moderate share of courage and skill, might destroy the best disciplined armies. How then could it possibly happen that a great nation did not even venture to dispute a territory, the nature of which was so well known to them, against a few plunderers, whom the ocean had just brought to these shores?

This event took place for the same reason that an intrepid robber, with the pistol in his hand, spoils with impunity a body of men, who are either quietly resting by their fire-sides, or who, shut up in a public carriage, are going along the road without mistrust. Though the robber be alone, and though he may have only one or two pistols to fire, yet he strikes the whole company with awe, because no one chooses to sacrifice himself for the rest. Defence implies a mutual agreement, which is the more slowly formed, as the danger is least expected, as the security is more complete, and as it has lasted a longer time. This was exactly the case with the Peruvians. They lived without uneasiness and without molestation for several centuries. Let us add to these considerations, that fear is the offspring of ignorance and astonishment; that a disorderly multitude cannot stand against a small number of disciplined forces; and that courage unarmed cannot resist cannon-shot. Accordingly, Peru must necessarily have been subdued, if even the domestic dissensions which then subverted it had not paved the way for its subjection.

Origin, religion, government, manners, and arts of Peru, at the arrival of the Spaniards.

This empire, which, according to the Spanish historians, had flourished for four centuries past, had been founded by Manco Capac, and by his wife Mama Ocello, who were called Incas, or Lords of Peru. It has been conjectured that these two persons might be the descendants of certain navigators of Europe, or the

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To ſupport this conjecture, it has been ſaid, that the Peruvians divided the year, as we do, into three hundred and ſixty-five days, and that they had ſome notion of aſtronomy; that they were acquainted with the points of the horizon, where the ſun ſets in the ſummer and winter ſolſtice, and in the equinoxes; marks which the Spaniards deſtroyed, as being monuments of Indian ſuperſtition. It has been aſſerted, that the race of the Incas was whiter than that of the natives of the country, and that ſeveral of the royal family had beards; and it is a known fact, that there are certain features, either ill formed, or regular, that are preſerved in ſome families, though they do not conſtantly paſs from one generation to another. And laſtly, it has been ſaid, that it was a tradition generally diffuſed throughout Peru, and tranſmitted from age to age, that there would one day arrive by ſea men with beards, and of ſuch ſuperiority in arms, that nothing could reſiſt them.

If there ſhould be any of our readers diſpoſed to adopt ſo improbable an opinion, they muſt neceſſarily allow, that there muſt have elapſed a conſiderable ſpace of time between the ſhipwreck and the foundation of the Peruvian empire. If this be not admitted, we cannot explain why the legiſlator ſhould not have given the ſavages, whom he collected together, ſome notions of writing, though he ſhould not himſelf have been able to read? Or why he ſhould not have taught them ſeveral of our arts and methods of doing things, and inſtructed them in certain tenets of his religion? Either it was not an European who founded the throne of the Incas, or we muſt neceſſarily believe, that the veſſel of his anceſtors was wrecked on the coaſt of America, at an era ſo remote, that the ſucceeding generations muſt have forgotten all the cuſtoms of the place from whence they ſprang.

The legiſlators announced themſelves to be children, ſent by their father to make men good and hap-

py. They certainly thought that this prejudice would inflame the minds of the people whom they meant to civilize, would elevate their courage, and inspire them with greater love for their country, and with more complete submission to the laws.

It was to a set of naked and wandering men, without agriculture, without industry, without any of those moral ideas that are the first ties of society, that their discourses were addressed. Some of these barbarians, who were imitated by others, assembled round the legislators in the mountainous country of Cusco.

Manco taught his new subjects to fertilize the earth, to sow corn and pulse, to wear clothes, and to provide dwelling-places for themselves. Ocello showed the Indian women how to spin, to weave cotton and wool; and instructed them in all the occupations suitable to their sex, and in all the arts of domestic economy.

The star of fire, which dispels the darkness that covers the earth, which draws the curtain of the night, and suddenly displays to the eyes of astonished man the most extensive, the most august, and the most pleasing of all scenes; which is saluted at its rising by the cheerfulness of animals, by the melody of birds, and by the hymn of the being that is endowed with the faculty of thinking; which advances majestically above all their heads; which, in its progress through the regions of the sky, traverses an immensity of space; which, when it sets, plunges the universe again into silence and melancholy; which distinguishes the seasons and the climates; which collects and dissipates the storms; which lights up the thunder, and extinguishes it; which pours upon the fields the rains that fertilize them, and upon the forests those that nourish them; which animates every thing by its warmth, embellishes every thing by its presence, and the privation of which produces in all parts a state of languor and annihilation: the sun, in a word, was the god of the Peruvians; and, indeed, what being is there in nature more worthy of the homage of the ignorant man, who is dazzled with its splendour, or of the grateful

man, on whom its benefits are laviſhed? The worſhip of the ſun was accordingly inſtituted. Temples were built to this deity, and human ſacrifices were aboliſhed. The deſcendants of the legiſlators were the only prieſts of the nation.

The laws pronounced the pain of death againſt murder, theft, and adultery. Few other crimes were treated with the ſame ſeverity. Polygamy was prohibited. No one was allowed to have concubines except the emperor, and that becauſe the race of the ſun could not be too much multiplied. Theſe concubines were ſelected from among the virgins conſecrated to the temple of Cuſco, who were all of his own race.

A moſt wiſe inſtitution enjoined that a young man, who ſhould commit a fault, ſhould be ſlightly puniſhed; but that his father ſhould be reſponſible for him. Thus it was that ſound morals were always inculcated by a good education.

There was no indulgence for idleneſs, which was conſidered, with reaſon, as the ſource of all crimes. Thoſe who, from age and infirmities, were rendered unfit for labour, were maintained at the public charge, but on condition that they ſhould preſerve the cultivated lands from the birds. All the citizens were obliged to make their own clothes, to raiſe their own dwellings, and to fabricate their own inſtruments of agriculture. Every ſeparate family knew how to ſupply its own wants.

The Peruvians were enjoined to love one another, and every circumſtance induced them to it. Thoſe common labours, which were always enlivened by agreeable ſongs; the object itſelf of theſe labours, which was to aſſiſt every one who had occaſion for ſuccour; that apparel that was made by young women devoted to the worſhip of the ſun, and diſtributed by the emperor's officers to the poor, to the aged, and to orphans; that union which muſt neceſſarily reign in the decuries, where every one was mutually inſpired with reſpect for the laws, and with the love of virtue, becauſe the puniſhments that were inflicted for

the faults of one individual fell on the whole body; that custom of regarding each other as members of one single family, which was the empire: all these circumstances united, maintained among the Peruvians concord, benevolence, patriotism, and a certain public spirit; and contributed, as much as possible, to substitute the most sublime and amiable virtues in lieu of personal interest, of the spirit of property, and of the [illegible]al incentives employed by other legislators.

[illegible]se virtues were rewarded with marks of distinct[illegible] much as if they had been services rendered to the country. Those who had signalized themselves by an exemplary conduct, or by any distinguished actions of advantage to the public good, wore, as a mark of ornament, clothes wrought by the family of the Incas. It is very probable that those statues, which the Spaniards pretended that they found in the temples of the sun, and which they took for idols, were the statues of men, who, by the greatness of their talents, or by a life replete with illustrious actions, had merited the homage or love of their fellow-citizens.

These great men were also usually the subjects of poems composed by the family of the Incas for the instruction of the people.

There was another species of poetry conducive to morality. At Cusco, and in all the other towns of Peru, tragedies and comedies were performed. The first were lessons of duty to the priests, warriors, judges, and persons of distinction, and represented to them models of public virtue. Comedies served for instruction to persons of inferior rank, and taught them the exercise of private virtues, and even of domestic economy.

The whole state was distributed into decuries, with an officer that was appointed to superintend ten families that were intrusted to him. A superior officer had the same inspection over fifty families; others over a hundred, five hundred, and a thousand.

The decurions, and the other superintending officers, up to the superintendant of a thousand, were

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obliged to give an account to the latter of all actions whether good or bad, to folicit punifhments and rewards for each, and to give information if there were any want of provifions, clothes, or corn, for the year. The fuperintendant of a thoufand made his report to the minifter of the Inca.

He had feldom any caufe of complaint againft the part of the nation intrufted to his care. In a country where all the laws were thought to be prefcribed by the fun, and where the leaft infringement of them was confidered as a facrilege, thefe tranfgreffions muft have been very uncommon.[*] When fuch a misfortune happened, the guilty perfons went of their own accord to reveal their moft fecret faults, and to folicit permiffion to expiate them. Thefe people told the Spaniards that there never had been one man of the family of the Incas who deferved punifhment.

The lands of the kingdom, that were fufceptible of cultivation, were divided into three parts; one appropriated to the fun, another to the Inca, and a third to the people. The firft were cultivated in common, as were likewife the lands of orphans, of widows, of old men, of the infirm, and of the foldiers who were with the army. Thefe were cultivated immediately after the lands appropriated to the fun, and before thofe of the emperor. The feafon of this labour was announced by feftivals: it was begun and continued with the found of mufical inftruments, and the chanting of hymns.

The emperor levied no tribute; and exacted nothing from his fubjects, but that they fhould cultivate his lands; the whole produce of which, being depofited in public magazines, was fufficient to defray all the expences of the empire.

The lands dedicated to the fun provided for the maintenance of the priefts, the fupport of the temples, and of every thing that concerned public worfhip. They were partly cultivated by princes of the royal family, clad in their richeft habits.

With regard to the lands that were in the poffeffion

of individuals, they were neither hereditary, nor even eſtates for life: the diviſion of them was continually varying, and was regulated with ſtrict equity according to the number of perſons which compoſed every family. There was no other wealth but what aroſe from the produce of the fields, the temporary enjoyment of which was all that was granted by the ſtate.

This cuſtom of moveable poſſeſſions has been uni-[illegible] cenſured by men of underſtanding. It has [illegible] their general opinion, that a nation would never [illegible] any degree of power or greatneſs, but by fixed, and even hereditary property. If it were not for the firſt of theſe, we ſhould ſee on the globe only wandering and naked ſavages, miſerably ſubſiſting on ſuch fruits and vegetables as are the ſole and ſcanty production of rude nature. If it were not for the ſecond, every individual would live only for himſelf; mankind would be deprived of every permanent advantage, which paternal affection, the love of a family name, and the inexpreſſible delight we feel in acting for the good of poſterity, urge us to purſue. The ſyſtem of ſome bold ſpeculators, who have regarded property, and particularly that ſpecies of it which is hereditary, as an uſurpation of ſome members of ſociety over others, is refuted by the fate of all thoſe inſtitutions in which their principles have been reduced to practice. Theſe ſtates have all fallen to ruin, after having languiſhed for ſome time in a ſtate of depopulation and anarchy.

If Peru hath not ſhared the ſame fate, it is probably becauſe the Incas, not knowing the uſe of impoſts, and having only commodities in kind to ſupply the neceſſities of government, muſt have been obliged to ſtudy how to multiply them. They were aſſiſted in the execution of this project by their miniſters, by inferior officers, and by the ſoldiers themſelves, who received nothing but the fruits of the earth for their ſubſiſtence and the ſupport of their rank. Hence aroſe a continual ſolicitude to increaſe theſe productions. This attention might have for its principal object the intro-

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duction of plenty into the lands of the ſovereign; but his patrimony was ſo mixed and confounded with that of his ſubjects, that it was not poſſible to fertilize the one without fertilizing the other. The people, encouraged by theſe advantages, which left little ſcope to their induſtry, applied themſelves to labours, which the nature of their ſoil, of their climate, and of their conſumptions, rendered very eaſy. But notwithſtanding all theſe advantages; notwithſtanding th[illegible] active vigilance of the magiſtrate; notwithſta[illegible] the certainty that their harveſts would never b[illegible]ged by a turbulent neighbour; the Peruvians never enjoyed any thing more than the mere neceſſaries of life. We may venture to aſſert, that they would have acquired the means of diverſifying and extending their enjoyments, if their talents had been excited by the introduction of rented, transferable, and hereditary property.

The Peruvians, though at the very ſource of gold and ſilver, knew not the uſe of coin. They had not, properly ſpeaking, any kind of commerce; and the more minute arts, which owe their exiſtence to the immediate wants of ſocial life, were in a very imperfect ſtate among them. All their ſcience conſiſted in memory, all their induſtry in example. They learned their religion and their hiſtory by hymns, and their duties and profeſſions by labour and imitation.

Their legiſlation was undoubtedly very imperfect and limited, ſince it ſuppoſed the prince always juſt and infallible, and the magiſtrates poſſeſſed of as much integrity as the prince; ſince not only the monarch, but his deputies, a ſuperintendant of ten, of a hundred, or of a thouſand, might change at pleaſure the deſtination of puniſhments and rewards. Among ſuch a people, deprived of the ineſtimable advantage of writing, the wiſeſt laws, being deſtitute of every principle of ſtability, muſt inſenſibly be corrupted, without there being any method of reſtoring them to their primitive character.

The counterpoiſe of theſe dangers was found in

their abſolute ignorance of gold and ſilver coin; an ignorance which, in a Peruvian deſpot, rendered the fatal paſſion of amaſſing riches impoſſible. It was found in the conſtitution of the empire, which had fixed the amount of the ſovereign's revenue, by ſettling the portion of lands that belonged to him. It was found in the extremely ſmall number and moderate nature of the wants of the people, which, being once gratified, rendered them happy and attached to their eſtabliſhment. It was found in the influence of the religious opinions, which made the obſervation of the laws a matter of conſcience. Thus was the deſpotiſm of the Incas founded on a mutual confidence between the ſovereign and the people; a confidence which reſulted from the beneficence of the prince, from the conſtant protection he granted to all his ſubjects, and from the evident intereſt they had to continue in obedience to him.

A ſpirit of pyrrhoniſm, which hath ſucceeded to a blind credulity, and hath been ſometimes carried to unjuſtifiable lengths, hath for ſome time endeavoured to raiſe objections to what has been juſt related of the laws, manners, and happineſs of ancient Peru. This account hath appeared to ſome philoſophers as chimerical, and formed only by the naturally romantic imagination of a few Spaniards. But among the deſtroyers of this diſtinguiſhed part of the New World, was there a ſingle ruffian ſufficiently enlightened to invent a fable ſo conſiſtent in all its parts? Was there any one among them humane enough to wiſh to do it, had he even been equal to the taſk? Would he not rather have been reſtrained by the fear of increaſing that hatred, which ſo many cruelties had brought on his country throughout the whole world? Would not the fable have been contradicted by a multitude of witneſſes, who would have ſeen the contrary of what was publiſhed with ſo much pomp? The unanimous teſtimony of cotemporary writers, and of their immediate ſucceſſors, ought to be regarded as the ſtrongeſt hiſtorical demonſtration that can poſſibly be deſired.

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Let us therefore no longer consider, as the offspring of a wild imagination, this account of a succession of wise sovereigns, and of a series of generations among mankind existing without reproach. Let us rather deplore the fate of these people, and not envy them the sad remembrance of this honour. It is enough to have deprived them of the advantages which they enjoyed, without adding the baseness of calumny to the meanness of avarice, the outrages of ambition, and the rage of fanaticism. It is to be wished that this beautiful era may be renewed, sooner or later in some quarter of the globe.

We shall not justify, with the same confidence, those accounts which the conquerors of Peru published concerning the grandeur and magnificence of the monuments of all kinds that they had found there. The desire of adding greater lustre to the glory of their triumphs might possibly mislead them. Perhaps, without being convinced themselves, they studied to impose on their own country and on foreign nations. The first testimonies, and those even were contradictory, have been invalidated by succeeding accounts, and at length totally destroyed, when men of enlightened understandings had visited this celebrated part of the New Hemisphere.

We must, therefore, consider as fabulous the report of that prodigious multitude of towns built with so much labour and expence. If there were so many superb cities in Peru, why do none exist except Cusco and Quito, beside those the conqueror built? Whence comes it that we scarce find anywhere, except in the valleys of Capillas and of Pachacamac, the ruins of those of which such exaggerated descriptions have been published? The people must therefore have been dispersed over the country; and indeed it was impossible it should have been otherwise in a region where there were neither tenants, nor artists, nor merchants, nor great proprietors, and where tillage was the sole or the principal occupation of all men.

We must consider as fabulous the account of those

majeſtic palaces, deſtined for the accommodation of the Incas, in the place of their reſidence and on their travels. As far as it is poſſible to judge through thoſe heaps of ruins which have been ſtirred up ſuch an infinite number of times by the hand of avarice, in expectation of finding treaſures among them, the royal manſions had neither majeſty nor ornament. They differed only in extent and thickneſs from the ordinary buildings, which were conſtructed with reeds, with wood, with compacted earth, and with rough ſtones without any cement, according to the nature of the climate, or the vicinity of the materials.

We muſt conſider as fabulous the relation of thoſe fortified places which defended the frontiers of the empire. There were undoubtedly ſome of theſe. The Lower Peru ſtill preſents us with the ruins of two of them ſituated upon mountains, the one conſtructed with earth, the other with the trunks of trees. It is ſuppoſed that they were furniſhed with ditches, and with three walls, one commanding the other. This was ſufficient to contain the conquered people, and to check the incurſions of neighbours that were not very formidable. But theſe means of defence could be of no avail againſt the valour and the arms of the Europeans. Neither were the fortreſſes of the Upper Peru, though built of ſtone, better calculated for this purpoſe. M. de la Condamine, who viſited, with that ſcrupulous attention that diſtinguiſhed him, the fort of Cannar, which is the beſt preſerved, and the moſt conſiderable after that of Cuſco, found it to be of very ſmall extent, and only ten feet high. A people who had nothing but their arms to aſſiſt them in carrying or dragging the moſt bulky materials, and who were ignorant of the uſe of levers and pulleys, could not poſſibly execute any greater deſigns.

We muſt conſider as fabulous the hiſtory of thoſe aqueducts and reſervoirs that are ſaid to have been comparable to the moſt magnificent monuments of the ſame kind tranſmitted to us from the ancients.

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We muſt alſo conſider as fabulous the diſplay of thoſe ſuperb roads which rendered communication ſo eaſy. The great roads of Peru were nothing more than two rows of ſtakes diſpoſed in a line, and intended for no other purpoſe but to point out the way to travellers. There was no road of any conſequence, except that which bore the name of the Incas, and which traverſed the whole empire. This, which was the moſt beautiful monument of Peru, was entirely deſtroyed during the civil wars of the conquerors.

We muſt alſo conſider as fabulous what has been ſaid of thoſe bridges which are ſo much boaſted of. How could the Peruvians, who were ignorant of the method of conſtructing arches, and knew not the uſe of lime, raiſe ſtone bridges? It is certain, however, that the traveller was continually ſtopped in his paſſage by a great number of torrents he met with among theſe regions. To overcome this great obſtacle, it was contrived to put together ſeven or eight cables, or even a greater number, made of oſier, to faſten them with other ſmaller cords, to cover them with the branches of trees and with earth; and to fix them ſtrongly to the oppoſite banks. Rivers that were larger and leſs rapid, were croſſed in ſmall ſailing-boats which tacked about with celerity.

We muſt alſo conſider as fabulous, the wonders related of the *quipos*, which were, among the Peruvians, a ſubſtitute to the art of writing that was unknown to them. Theſe were, as it hath been ſaid, regiſters made of cords, in which different kinds of knots and various colours, pointed out the facts, the remem-

brance of which it was either important or agreeable to preferve; thefe records were kept by depofitaries of confidence appointed by public authority. It might perhaps be rafh in us to affirm, that thefe kinds of hieroglyphics, of which we have never had any but obfcure defcriptions, could not poffibly throw any light upon paft events. But, when we obferve the many errors that infinuate themfelves into our hiftories, notwithftanding the great facility of avoiding them, we fhall fcarce be inclined to think, that annals of fo fingular a nature as thofe we have been mentioning, could ever merit much confidence.

The Spaniards do not deferve more credit, when they tell us of thofe baths that were made of filver and gold, as well as the pipes that fupplied them; of thofe gardens full of trees, the flowers of which were of filver, and the fruit of gold, and where the eye, being deceived, miftook art for nature; of thofe fields of maize, the ftems of which were of filver, and the ears of gold; of thofe baffo-relievos, in which the herbs and plants were fo admirably exhibited, that whoever faw was tempted to gather them; of thofe dreffes covered over with grains of gold more delicate than the feed of pearl, and the workmanfhip of which the ableft artifts of Europe could not have equalled. We fhall not fay, that thefe works were not worthy to be preferved, becaufe they never have been. If the Greek ftatuaries in their compofitions had only employed precious metals, it is probable that few of the capital productions of Greece could have reached us. But, if we may judge of what hath perifhed by what ftill remains, we may be certain that the Peruvians had made no progrefs in drawing. The vafes, which have efcaped the ravages of time, may ferve as a fignal proof of the patience of the Indians; but they will never be confidered as monuments of their genius. Some figures of animals, and of infects, in maffive gold, which were long preferved in the treafury of Quito, were not more perfect. We cannot any longer judge of them; for they were melted down in 1740, in order to furnifh

ſuccours for Carthagena, that was then beſieged by the Engliſh; and there was not found in all Peru a Spaniard curious enough to purchaſe a ſingle piece at the bare weight.

From what hath been ſaid, it appears clearly, that the Peruvians had made ſcarce any advances in the abſtract ſciences. Moſt of them depend on the progreſs of the arts, and theſe again on accidents which nature produces only in a courſe of ſeveral centuries, and of which the greateſt part are loſt among people who have no intercourſe with enlightened nations.

If we reduce all theſe accounts to the ſimple truth, we ſhall find that the Peruvians had arrived at the art of fuſing gold and ſilver, and of working them. With theſe metals they made ornaments, moſt of which were very thin, for the arms, for the neck, for the noſe, and for the ears; and hollow ſtatues, all of one piece, which, whether they were carved or caſt in a mould, had no greater degree of thickneſs. Vaſes are ſeldom made of theſe rich materials. Their ordinary vaſes were of very fine clay, eaſily wrought, and of the ſize and figure adapted to the purpoſes for which they were deſtined. Weights were not known among them, and ſcales are diſcovered from time to time, the baſons of which are of ſilver, and which are in the ſhape of an inverted cone. Two kinds of ſtone were uſed as looking-glaſſes; the one was ſoft, the other hard; one was entirely opaque, the other had a ſmall degree of tranſparency; one was black, the other of a lead colour; it had been contrived to give them a ſufficient poliſh to reflect objects. Wool, cotton, and the barks of trees, were woven by theſe people into a cloth more or leſs compact, and more or leſs coarſe, which was uſed for wearing-apparel, and of which houſehold furniture was even made. Theſe ſtuffs and cloths were dyed black, blue and red, by means of the arnotto, by different plants, and by a kind of wild bean that grows in the mountains. Their emeralds were cut in all ſorts of forms. Thoſe that have been often taken out of the tombs, moſt of which are in ele[illegible]ed ſituations, where citi-

tens of diſtinction were buried with whatever they poſſeſſed that was rare, prove that theſe precious ſtones were more perfect here than they have been found to be anywhere elſe. Sometimes, by fortunate chance, pieces of workmanſhip are diſcovered in red and yellow copper, and others which partake of both colours; from whence it hath been concluded, that the Peruvians were acquainted with the art of mixing metals. One more important matter is, that this copper never ruſts, and never collects any verdigriſe; which ſeems to prove, that the Indians mixed ſomething in the preparing of it, which had the property of preſerving it from theſe fatal inconveniences. It is to be regretted that the uſeful art of tempering it in this manner has been loſt, either from want of encouraging the natives of the country, or from the contempt which the conquerors had for every thing that had no concern with their paſſion for riches.

But with what inſtruments were theſe works executed, among a people who were unacquainted with iron, which is looked upon with reaſon as the foundation of all the arts? Nothing has been preſerved in the private houſes, nor hath any thing been diſcovered among the public monuments, or in the tombs, which can give information ſufficient to ſolve this problem. Perhaps the hammers and mallets that were uſed were made of ſome ſubſtance that time may have either deſtroyed or disfigured. If we will not admit of this conjecture, we muſt conclude, that all the workmanſhip was executed with thoſe hatchets of copper, which alſo ſerved the people for arms in battle. In this caſe, labour, time, and patience, muſt have ſupplied among the Peruvians the deficiency of tools.

It was alſo, perhaps, with hatchets of copper or flint, and by inceſſant friction, that they contrived to cut ſtones, to ſquare them, to make them anſwer to each other, to give them the ſame height, and to join them without cement. Unfortunately theſe inſtruments had not the ſame effect on wood as they had upon ſtone. Thus it happened that the ſame men

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who ſhaped the granite, and who drilled the emerald, never knew how to join timber by mortiſes, tenons, and pins; it was faſtened to the walls only by ruſhes. The moſt remarkable buildings had only a covering of thatch, ſupported by poles, like the tents of our armies. They had but one floor, and no light except by the entrance, and they conſiſted only of detached apartments, that had no communication with each other.

The ſubjection of Peru is the epocha of the moſt bloody conteſts between its conquerors.

But whatever were the arts which the Spaniards found in the country of Peru, theſe barbarians were no ſooner maſters of this vaſt empire, than they diſputed the ſpoils of it with all the rage which their firſt exploits announced. The ſeeds of theſe diviſions had been ſown by Pizarro himſelf, who, when he went into Europe to prepare for a ſecond expedition into the South Seas, had prevailed upon the miniſtry to give him a great ſuperiority over Almagro. The ſacrifice of what he had obtained from a temporary favour, had contributed to reconcile him with his colleague, who had been juſtly incenſed at this perfidy; but the diviſion of Atabalipa's ranſom irritated again theſe two haughty and rapacious robbers. A diſpute, which aroſe concerning the limits of their reſpective governments, completed their animoſity, and this extreme hatred was attended with the moſt deplorable conſequences.

Civil wars uſually originate in tyranny and anarchy. In a ſtate of anarchy the people divide themſelves into ſmall parties. Each petty faction hath its demagogue; each hath its pretenſions, be they wiſe or extravagant, unanimous or contradictory, without their being known. A number of confuſed clamours ariſe. The firſt ſtroke is followed by a thouſand others; and the people deſtroy each other without liſtening to reaſon. Private intereſts and perſonal animoſities prolong the duration of the public troubles; and men do not come to explanations till after they are tired with carnage. Under the influence of tyranny, there are ſcarce ever more than three parties, that of the court, that of the oppoſition, and that of indifferent perſons: theſe are in-

deed lukewarm citizens, but fometimes of great fervice by their impartiality, and by the ridicule they caft upon the other two parties. In a ftate of anarchy, when tranquillity is reftored, the life of every individual is fafe; under that of tyranny, tranquillity is followed by the death of feveral individuals, or of one only.

Though the interefts which divided the chiefs of the Spaniards were not of fuch importance, yet their effects were equally terrible. After fome negotiations, difhoneft at leaft on one part, and confequently ufelefs, recourfe was had to the fword, in order to determine which of the two competitors fhould govern the whole of Peru. On the 6th of April 1538, in the plains of Salines, not far from Cufco, fate decided againft Almagro, who was taken prifoner and beheaded.

Thofe of his partifans who had efcaped the carnage, would willingly have reconciled themfelves with the conquering party. But whether Pizarro did not choofe to truft the foldiers of his rival, or whether he could not overcome a refentment that was too deeply rooted, it is certain that he always fhowed a remarkable averfion for them. They were not only excluded from all the favours that were profufely lavifhed upon the acquifition of a great empire; but they were alfo ftripped of the rewards formerly granted for their fervices; they were perfecuted, and expofed to continual mortifications.

This treatment brought a great number of them to Lima. There, in the houfe of the fon of their general, they concerted in filence the deftruction of their oppreffor. Nineteen of the moft intrepid went out, fword in hand, on the 26th of June 1541, in the middle of the day, which in hot countries is the time devoted to reft. They penetrated, without oppofition, into the palace of Pizarro; and the conqueror of fo many vaft kingdoms was quietly maffacred in the centre of a town that he had founded, and the inhabitants of which were compofed of his creatures, his fervants, his relations, his friends, or his foldiers.

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Those who were judged most likely to revenge his death, were murdered after him: the fury of the assassins spread itself, and every one who ventured to appear in the streets and in the squares was regarded as an enemy, and put to the sword. Instantly the houses and temples were filled with slaughter, and presented nothing but mangled carcases. The spirit of avarice, which induced them to consider the rich merely as partisans of the old government, was still more furious than that of hatred, and rendered it more active, more suspicious, and more implacable. The representation of a place taken by assault by a barbarous nation would communicate but an imperfect idea of that spectacle of horror which these ruffians now exhibited, who wrested from their accomplices the booty of which they had frustrated them.

This cruel massacre was followed by enormities of another kind. The soul of young Almagro seems to have been formed for tyranny. Every one who had been in employment under the adversary of his family was inhumanly proscribed. The ancient magistrates were deposed. The troops were put under the command of new officers. The royal treasury, and the wealth of those who perished or were absent, were seized upon by the usurper. His accomplices, attached to his fortune by being partakers of his crimes, were forced to give their support to undertakings which filled them with horror. Those among them who suffered their uneasiness at these proceedings to transpire, were either put to death in private, or perished on a scaffold. During the confusion, in which a revolution so unexpected had plunged Peru, several provinces submitted to this monster, who caused himself to be proclaimed governor in the capital: and he marched into the heart of the empire, to complete the reduction of every place that opposed, or hesitated to acknowledge him.

A multitude of ruffians joined him on his march. His army breathed nothing but vengeance and plunder: every thing gave way before it. If the military talents of the general had equalled the ardour of his

troops, the war had ended here. Unhappily for Almagro, he had loft his conductor, John de Herrada. His inexperience made him fall into the fnares that were laid for him by Pedro Alvares, who had put himfelf at the head of the oppofite party. He loft, in attempting to unravel his rival's plots, that time which he ought to have employed in fighting. In thefe circumftances, an event, which no one could have forefeen, happened to change the face of affairs.

The licentiate Vafco di Caftro, who had been fent from Europe to try the murderers of old Almagro, arrived at Peru. As he was appointed to affume the government in cafe Pizarro was no more, all who had not fold themfelves to the tyrant, haftened to acknowledge him. Uncertainty and jealoufy, which had for too long a time kept them difperfed, were no longer an obftacle to their re-union. Caftro, who was as refolute as if he had grown old in the fervice, did not fuffer their impatience to languifh, but inftantly led them againft the enemy. The two armies engaged at Chapas on the 16th of September 1542, and fought with inexpreflible obftinacy. Victory, after having wavered a long time, at the clofe of the day decided in favour of the government party. Thofe among the rebels who were moft guilty, dreading to languifh under difgraceful tortures, provoked the conquerors to murder them, crying out, like men in defpair, *It was I who killed Pizarro.* Their chief was taken prifoner, and died on the fcaffold.

Thefe fcenes of horror were juft concluded, when Blafco Nunnez Vela arrived in 1544 at Peru, with the title and powers of viceroy. The court had thought to inveft their reprefentative with a folemn dignity, and with very extenfive authority, in order that the decrees he was commiffioned to eftablifh, fhould meet with lefs oppofition. Thefe decrees were intended to leffen the oppreffion under which the Indians were funk, and more particularly to render thefe immenfe conquefts ufeful to the crown: let us examine whether they were judicioufly contrived for this purpofe.

They declared that ſome of the Peruvians ſhould be free from that moment, and the reſt at the death of their oppreſſors: that, for the future, they ſhould not be compelled to bury themſelves in the mines; and that no kind of labour ſhould be exacted from them without payment: that their public labours and tributes ſhould be regulated: that the Spaniards who travelled through the provinces on foot, ſhould no longer have three of theſe wretched people to carry their baggage; nor five when they went on horſeback: that the Caciques ſhould be freed from the obligation of providing the traveller and his ſuite with food.

By the ſame regulations, all the departments or commanderies of the governors, of the officers of juſtice, of the agents of the treaſury, of the biſhops, of the monaſteries, of the hoſpitals, and of all perſons who had been concerned in the public troubles, were to be annexed to the domains of the ſtate. The few lands that might belong to other proprietors, were to be ſubject to the ſame law, after the preſent poſſeſſors had ended their days, let their life be long or ſhort; and their heirs, their wives, or their children, were to have no claim upon any part of them.

Before ſo great a revolution had been attempted, would it not have been more proper to have ſoftened the ferocious manners of theſe people, to have gradually bent to the yoke men who had always lived in a ſtate of independence, to have brought back to principles of equity injuſtice itſelf, to have connected to the general intereſt thoſe who had been hitherto influenced by private intereſts only, to have made citizens of adventurers, who had, as it were, forgotten the country from whence they ſprang; to have eſtabliſhed properties where the law of the ſtrongeſt had before univerſally prevailed; to have made order ariſe from the midſt of confuſion; and, by a ſtriking contraſt to the evils which had juſt been occaſioned by anarchy, to have conciliated attachment and reverence to a well-regulated government? But without any of theſe

preliminary fteps, how could the court of Madrid expect fuddenly to attain the end they propofed?

Even fuppofing the matter public, did they employ a proper agent to effect it? At any rate, it would have been a work of patience, and of a conciliatory difpofition which would have required all the talents of the moft confummate negotiator. Did Nunnez poffefs any of thefe advantages? Nature had only given him integrity, courage, and firmnefs; and he had added nothing to her gifts. With thefe virtues, which were almoft defects in his fituation, he began to fulfil his commiffion, without any regard to place, to perfons, or to circumftances. To the aftonifhment with which the people were at firft feized, fucceeded indignation, murmurs, and fedition.

Civil wars affume the character that diftinguifhes the caufes from whence they fpring. When an abhorrence of tyranny, and the natural love of liberty, ftimulate a brave people to take up arms, if they prove victorious, the tranquillity that follows this tranfitory calamity is an era of the greateft happinefs. The vigour which hath been excited in the foul of every individual, manifefts itfelf in his manners. The fmall number of citizens who have been witneffes and inftruments of fuch troubles, poffefs more moral ftrength than the moft populous nations. Abilities and power are united; and every man is aftonifhed to find that he occupies that very place which nature had marked out for him.

But when diffenfions proceed from a corrupt fource; when flaves fight about the choice of a tyrant; when the ambitious contend, in order to opprefs, and robbers quarrel for the fake of fpoil; the peace which terminates thefe horrors is fcarcely preferable to the war which gave them birth. Criminals affume the place of the judges who had difgraced them, and become the oracles of thofe laws which they had infulted. Men ruined by their extravagances and debaucheries, infult, with an overbearing pomp, thofe virtuous citizens whofe patrimony they have invaded. In this

ftate of utter confufion, the paffions only are attended to. Avarice feeks to grow rich without any trouble, vengeance to gratify its refentments without fear, licentioufnefs to throw off every reftraint, and difcontent to occafion a total fubverfion of affairs. The frenzy of carnage is fucceeded by that of debauchery. The facred bed of innocence or of marriage is polluted with blood, adultery, and brutal violence. The fury of the multitude rejoices in deftroying every thing it cannot enjoy; and thus, in a few hours, perifh the monuments of many centuries.

If fatigue, an entire laffitude, or fome fortunate accidents, fufpend thefe calamities, the habit of wickednefs and murder, and the contempt of laws, which neceffarily fubfifts after fo much confufion, is a leaven ever ready to ferment. Generals who no longer have any command, licentious foldiers without pay, and the people, fond of novelty, in hopes of changing their ftate for a better; this fituation of things, and thefe means of confufion, are always in readinefs for the firft factious perfon who knows how to avail himfelf of them.

Such was the difpofition of the Spaniards in Peru, when Nunnez attempted to carry into execution the orders he had received from the old hemifphere. He was immediately degraded, put in irons, and banifhed to a defert ifland, where he was to remain till he was conveyed to the mother-country.

Gonzales Pizarro was then returned from a hazardous expedition, which had carried him as far as the river of the Amazons, and had employed him long enough to prevent him from taking a part in thofe revolutions which had fo rapidly fucceeded each other. The anarchy he found prevailing at his return, infpired him with the idea of feizing the fupreme authority. His fame and his forces made it impoffible that this fhould be refufed him; but his ufurpation was marked with fo many enormities, that Nunnez was regretted. He was recalled from exile, and foon collected a fufficient number of forces to enable him to take the field.

Civil commotions were then renewed with extreme fury by both parties. No quarter was aſked or given on either ſide. The Indians were forced to take part in this, as they had done in the preceding wars; ſome ranged themſelves under the ſtandard of the viceroy, others under the banners of Gonzales. They dragged up the artillery, levelled the roads, and carried the baggage. After a variety of advantages for a long time alternately obtained, fortune at length favoured the rebellion under the walls of Quito, in the month of January in the year 1545. Nunnez, and the greateſt part of his men, were maſſacred on that day.

Pizarro took the road of Lima, where they were deliberating on the ceremonies with which they ſhould receive him. Some officers wiſhed that a canopy ſhould be carried for him to march under, after the manner of kings. Others, with adulation ſtill more extravagant, pretended that part of the walls of the town, and even ſome houſes, muſt be pulled down; as was the cuſtom at Rome, when a general obtained the honours of a triumph. Gonzales contented himſelf with making his entrance on horſeback, preceded by his lieutenants, who marched on foot. Four biſhops accompanied him; and he was followed by the magiſtrates. The ſtreets were ſtrewn with flowers, and the air reſounded with the noiſe of bells and various muſical inſtruments. This homage totally turned the head of a man naturally haughty, and of confined ideas. He ſpoke and acted in the moſt deſpotic manner.

Had Gonzales poſſeſſed judgment, and the appearance of moderation, it would have been poſſible for him to render himſelf independent. The principal perſons of his party wiſhed it. The majority would have viewed this event with indifference, and the reſt would have been obliged to conſent to it. Blind cruelties, inſatiable avarice, and unbounded pride, altered theſe diſpoſitions. Even the perſons whoſe intereſts were more connected with thoſe of the tyrant, wiſhed for a deliverer.

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An aged priest at length puts an end to the effusion of Spanish blood.

Such a deliverer arrived from Europe in the person of Pedro de la Gasca. He was a priest advanced in years, but prudent, disinterested, firm, and especially endowed with an acute discernment. He brought no troops along with him; but he had been intrusted with unlimited powers. The first use he allowed himself to make of them, was, to publish a general amnesty without distinction of persons or crimes, and to revoke the severe laws that had rendered the preceding administration odious. This step alone secured to him the fleet, and the mountainous provinces. If Pizarro, to whom the amnesty had been particularly offered with every testimony of distinction, had accepted of it, as he was advised to do by the most enlightened of his partisans, the troubles would have been at an end. The habit of commanding would not suffer him to descend to a private station; and he had recourse to arms, in hopes of perpetuating his memory. Without losing a moment, he advanced towards Cusco, where La Gasca was assembling his forces. On the 9th of April 1548, the battle was begun at the distance of four leagues from this place, in the plains of Sacsahuana. One of the rebel general's lieutenants, seeing him abandoned at the first charge by his best soldiers, advised him, but in vain, to throw himself into the enemy's battalions, and perish like a Roman; but this weak head of a party chose rather to surrender, and end his life on a scaffold. Nine or ten of his officers were hanged round him. A more disgraceful sentence was pronounced against Carvajal.

This confidant of Pizarro, who, in all the accounts, is accused of having massacred with his own hand four hundred men, of having sacrificed, by means of his agents, more than a thousand Spaniards, and of having destroyed more than twenty thousand Indians through excess of labour, was one of the most astonishing men ever recorded in history. At a time when the minds of all men were elevated, he displayed a degree of courage which could never admit of a comparison. He remained always faithful to the cause he

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had engaged in, although the cuſtom of changing ſtandards according to circumſtances was then univerſally prevalent. He never forgot the moſt trifling ſervice that had been rendered him; while thoſe who had once conferred an obligation upon him, might afterwards affront him with impunity. His cruelty was become a proverb; and in the moſt horrid executions he ordered, he never loſt any thing of his mirth. Strongly addicted to raillery, he was appeaſed with a jeſt; while he inſulted the cry of pain, which appeared to him the exclamation of cowardice or weakneſs. His iron heart made a ſport of every thing. He took away or preſerved life for a nothing, becauſe life was a nothing in his eſtimation. His paſſion for wine did not prevent the uncommon ſtrength of his body, and the dreadful vigour of his ſoul, from maintaining themſelves to the moſt advanced time of life. In extreme old age, he was ſtill the firſt ſoldier, and the firſt commander in the army. His death was conformable to his life. At the age of eighty-four, he was quartered, without ſhowing any remorſe for what was paſt, or any uneaſineſs for the future.

Such was the laſt ſcene of a tragedy, every act of which hath been marked with blood. Civil wars have always been cruel in all countries and in all ages; but at Peru they were deſtined to have a peculiar character of ferocity. Thoſe who excited them, and thoſe who engaged in them, were moſt of them adventurers without education, and of mean birth. Avarice, which had brought them into the New World, was joined to other paſſions which render domeſtic diſſenſions ſo laſting and ſo violent. All of them, without exception, conſidered the chief whom they had choſen merely as a partner in their fortune, whoſe influence was only to extend to the guidance of their hoſtilities. None of them accepted any pay. As plunder and confiſcation were to be the fruits of victory, no quarter was ever given in action. After the engagement was over, every rich man was expoſed to informations; and there were nearly as many citizens who periſhed

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Fortunately for this opulent part of the New Hemiſphere, the moſt ſeditious of the conquerors, and of thoſe who followed their ſteps, had periſhed miſerably in the ſeveral events that had ſo frequently ſubverted it. Few of them had ſurvived the troubles, except thoſe who had conſtantly preferred peaceable occupations to the tumult and dangers of great revolutions. What ſtill remained of that commotion that had been raiſed in their minds, inſenſibly ſank into a calm, like the agitation of waves after a long and furious tempeſt. Then, and then only, the Catholic kings might with truth ſtyle themſelves the ſovereigns of the Spaniards fixed in Peru. But there was one Inca ſtill remaining.

This legitimate heir of ſo many vaſt dominions, lived in the midſt of the mountains in a ſtate of independence. Some princeſſes of his family, who had ſubmitted to the conquerors, abuſed his inexperience and youth, and prevailed upon him to come to Lima. The uſurpers of his rights carried their inſolence ſo far as to ſend him letters of grace, and aſſigned to him only a very moderate domain for his ſubſiſtence. He went to hide his ſhame and his regret in the valley of Yucay, where, at the expiration of three years, death, though ſtill too tardy, put an end to his unfortunate career. An only daughter, who ſurvived him, married Loyola; and from this union are ſprung the houſes of Oropeſa and Alcannizas. Thus was the conqueſt of Peru completed towards the year 1560.

When the Caſtilians had firſt made their appearance in this empire, it had an extent of more than fifteen thouſand miles of coaſt upon the South Sea; and in its depth, it was bounded only by the higheſt of the Cordeleirias mountains. In leſs than half a century,

these turbulent men pushed on their conquests eastward from Panama to the river Plata, and westward from the Chagre to the Oroonoko. Although the new acquisitions were most of them separated from Peru by terrible deserts, or by people who obstinately defended their liberty, yet they were all incorporated with it, and submitted to the same law, even down to these latter times. Let us take a review of those which have preserved or acquired some degree of importance; and we shall begin with the Darien.

Notions concerning the province of Darien. Inquiry whether that country be of importance enough to excite divisions among the nations?

This narrow slip of land, which joins South and North America together, is fortified by a chain of high mountains, sufficiently solid to resist the attacks of the two opposite seas. The country is so barren, so rainy, so unwholesome, and so full of insects, that the Spaniards, in all probability, would never have thought of fixing there, had they not found at Porto-Bello, and at Panama, harbours well calculated for establishing an easy communication between the Atlantic and the Southern Ocean. The rest of the isthmus had so little attraction for them, that the settlements of Saint Mary and of Nombre de Dios, which had at first been formed there, were soon annihilated.

This neglect determined, in 1698, twelve hundred Scotch to go there. The Company, united for this enterprise, intended to gain the confidence of the few savages whom the sword had not destroyed; to arm them against a people whose ferocity they had experienced; to work the mines, which were thought more valuable than they are; to intercept the galleons by cruises skilfully conducted; and to unite their forces with those of Jamaica, with sufficient management to acquire the sway in this part of the New World.

A project so alarming displeased the court of Madrid, which seemed determined to confiscate the effects of all the English, who traded with so much advantage in their dominions. It displeased Louis XIV. who offered to a power already too much exhausted, a fleet sufficient to frustrate the design: it displeased the Dutch, who were afraid that this new company

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would one day divide with them the ſmuggling trade which they monopolized in theſe latitudes: it was even diſpleaſing to the Britiſh miniſtry, who foreſaw that Scotland, growing rich, would wiſh to emerge from that kind of dependence to which its poverty had hitherto reduced it. This violent and univerſal oppoſition determined king William to revoke a permiſſion which his favourites had extorted from him. It then became neceſſary to evacuate the golden iſland upon which this colony had been placed.

But the mere apprehenſion the Spaniards had felt of having ſuch a neighbour, determined them to pay more attention themſelves to a country which they had always hitherto diſdained. Their miſſionaries ſucceeded in forming nine or ten villages, each of which contained from one hundred and fifty to two hundred ſavages. Whether from the unſettled diſpoſition of the Indians, or from the oppreſſion of their guides, theſe riſing ſettlements began to fall off in 1716; and in our days, there are no more than three of them remaining, defended by four ſmall forts and by a hundred ſoldiers.

Extent, climate, ſoil, fortifications, harbour, population, manners, and trade of Carthagena.

The province of Carthagena is bordered on the Weſt by the river Darien, and on the Eaſt by that of Magdalena. The extent of its coaſt is fifty-three leagues, and of the inland countries eighty-five. The arid and extremely high mountains that occupy the greateſt part of this vaſt ſpace, are ſeparated by large valleys, well watered and fertile. The dampneſs and exceſſive heat of the climate prevent, indeed, the corn, the oils, the wines, and the fruits of Europe from thriving there: but rice, caſſava, maize, cacao, ſugar, and all the productions peculiar to America, are very common. But cotton is the only article cultivated for exportation; and even the wool of this is ſo long, and ſo difficult in working, that it is only ſold for the loweſt price in our markets, and is rejected by moſt of the manufactures.

Baſtidas was the firſt European, who, in 1502, appeared in theſe unknown latitudes. La Coſa, Guerra,

Ojeda, Vesputius, and Oviedo, landed there after him: but the people whom these plunderers meant to enslave opposed them with such firmness, that they were obliged to give up all thoughts of forming a settlement there. At length Pedro de Heridia appeared in 1527, with a force sufficient to reduce them. He built and peopled Carthagena.

In 1544, some French pirates pillaged the new town. Forty-one years after, it was burnt by the celebrated Drake. Pointis, one of the admirals of Louis XIV. took it in 1697; but, by his cruel rapacity, he disgraced the arms which his ambitious master wished to render illustrious. The English were disgracefully obliged, in 1741, to raise the siege of it, though they had undertaken it with twenty-five ships of the line, six fire-ships, two bomb-ketches, and as many land forces as were sufficient to conquer a great part of America. The misunderstanding between Vernon and Wentworth; the cabals which divided the army and the fleet; a want of experience in most of the commanders, and of subordination in the subalterns: all these causes united to deprive the nation of the glory and advantage it had flattered itself with, from one of the most brilliant armaments that had ever been dispatched from the British ports.

After so many revolutions, Carthagena now subsists in splendour in a peninsula of sand, which is joined to the continent only by two narrow necks of land, the broadest of which is not thirty-five toises. Its fortifications are regular. Nature has placed, at a little distance, a hill of a tolerable height, on which the citadel of St. Lazarus hath been built. These works are defended by a garrison, more or less numerous, as circumstances require. The town is one of the best built, the most regular, and best disposed, of any in the New World. It may contain twenty-five thousand souls. Of this number the Spaniards form the sixth part; the Indians, the Negroes, and several races composed of mixtures of an infinite variety, make up the remainder.

These mixtures are more common at Carthagena

than in most of the other Spanish colonies. A multitude of vagabonds without employment, without fortune, and without recommendations, are continually resorting to this place. In a country where they are totally unknown, no citizen can venture to repose any confidence in their services; they are destined to subsist wretchedly on the alms of the convents, and to lie in the corner of a square, or under the portico of some church. If the afflictions they experience in this miserable state should bring some violent disease upon them, they are commonly assisted by the free negro women, whose care and kindness they requite by marrying them. Those who have not the happiness of being in a situation dreadful enough to excite the compassion of the women, are obliged to take refuge in the country, and to devote themselves to fatiguing labours, which a certain national pride, and ancient customs, render equally insupportable. Indolence is carried so far in this country, that men and women who are wealthy seldom quit their hammocks, and that but for a little time.

The climate must be one of the principal causes of this inactivity. The heat is excessive, and almost continual, at Carthagena. The torrents of water, which are incessantly pouring down from the month of May to November, have this peculiarity, that they never cool the air, which, however, is sometimes a little tempered by the north-east winds in the dry season. The night is as hot as the day. An habitual perspiration gives the inhabitants the pale and livid colour of sickly persons. Even when they are in perfect health, their motions partake of the softness of the climate, which evidently relaxes their fibres. This indolence manifests itself even in their words, which are always uttered slowly, and with a low voice. Those who come hither from Europe preserve their fresh complexions and plumpness three or four months; but they afterwards lose both.

This decay is the forerunner of an evil still more dreadful, but the nature of which is little known. It

is conjectured that some persons are affected with it from catching cold, others from indigestion. It manifests itself by vomitings, accompanied with so violent a delirium, that the patient must be confined, to prevent him from tearing himself to pieces. He often expires in the midst of these agitations, which seldom last above three or four days. A lemonade made of the juice of the opuntium, or Indian fig, is, according to Godin, the best specific that has been found against so fatal a disease. Those who have escaped this danger, run no risk for the future. We are assured from the testimony of men of understanding, that, even upon their return to Carthagena, after a long absence, they have nothing to fear.

The town and its territory exhibit the spectacle of a hideous leprosy, which indiscriminately attacks both the inhabitants and strangers. The philosophers who have attempted to ascribe this calamity to the eating of pork, have not considered that nothing of a similar kind is seen in the other parts of the New World, where this kind of food is not less common. To prevent the progress of this distemper, an hospital has been founded in the country. Persons who are supposed to be attacked with it, are shut up here, without distinction of sex, rank, or age. The benefit of so wise an establishment is lost through the avarice of the governors, who, without being deterred by the danger of spreading the disease, suffer the poor to go in and out to beg. Thus it is that the number of the sick is so great, that the enclosure of the dwelling is of an immense extent. Every one there enjoys a little spot of ground that is marked out for him on his admission. There he builds an abode suitable to his fortune, where he lives in tranquillity to the end of his days, which are often long, though unhappy. This disorder so powerfully excites that passion which is the strongest of all others, that it has been judged necessary to permit marriage to such as are afflicted with it. This is, perhaps, increasing the passion, by increasing the means of satisfying it. These desires appear to be ir-

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Let us be allowed to form a conjecture. There are ſome people in Africa that are ſituated nearly under the ſame latitude, who have a cuſtom of rubbing the body with an oil that is expreſſed from the fruit of a tree reſembling the palm. This oil is of a diſagreeable ſmell: but beſide the property it has of keeping off inſects which are very troubleſome under this burning ſky, it ſerves to make the ſkin pliable, and to preſerve, or reſtore to that organ ſo eſſential to life, the free exerciſe of the office for which nature has deſigned it; it alſo quiets the irritation which dryneſs and aridity muſt bring on upon the ſkin, which then becomes ſo hard, that all kind of perſpiration is intercepted. If a ſimilar method were tried at Carthagena, and if the cleanlineſs which the climate requires were added to it, perhaps this leproſy might be reſtrained, or even totally aboliſhed.

Notwithſtanding this diſguſting diſtemper, the various defects of an inconvenient and dangerous climate, and many other diſagreeable circumſtances, Spain hath always ſhown a great predilection for Carthagena, on account of its harbour, one of the beſt that is known. It is two leagues in extent, and hath a deep and excellent bottom. There is not more agitation there than on the moſt calm river. There are two channels that lead up to it. That which is called Bocca Grande, and which is from ſeven to eight hundred toiſes in breadth, had formerly ſo little depth, that the ſmalleſt canoe could with difficulty paſs through it. The ocean hath gradually increaſed its depth ſo much, that in ſome parts twelve feet of water may be found. If the revolutions of time ſhould bring about greater alterations, the place would be expoſed. Accordingly, the attention of the court of Madrid is ſeriouſly engaged

in confidering the means of preventing fo great an evil. Perhaps, after much reflection, no fimpler or more certain expedient will be found, than to oppofe to the enemy's fleets a dyke formed of old fhips filled with ftones and funk in the fea. The channel of Bocca Chica hath been hitherto the only one practicable. This is fo narrow, that only one veffel can enter at once. The Englifh, in 1741, having deftroyed the fortifications that defended this paffage, they have been fince reftored with greater fkill. They were no longer placed at the entrance of the gullet, but further up the channel, where they will fecure a better defence.

At the time that thefe countries were fupplied with provifions, by the well known method of the galleons, the veffels which fet out from Spain all together, failed to Carthagena before they went to Porto Bello, and vifited it again on their return to Europe. In the firft voyage, they depofited the merchandife that was neceffary for the fupply of the interior provinces, and received the price of them in the fecond. When fingle fhips were fubftituted to thefe monftrous armaments, the city ferved for the fame kind of ftaple. It was always the point of communication between the Old Hemifphere and great part of the New. From the year 1748 to 1753, this ftaple was only vifited with twenty-feven fhips from Spain: thefe, in exchange for the merchandife they had brought, received every year 9,357,806 livres [389,908l. 11s. 8d.] in gold, 4,729,498 livres [197,072l. 8s. 4d.] in filver, and 851,765 livres [35,490l. 14s. 2d.] in the produce of the country; in all, 14,939,069 livres [622,461l. 13s. 4d.].

The article of the produce of the country was compofed of four thoufand eight hundred and fourfcore quintals of cacao, the value of which in Europe was 509,760 livres [21,240l. 10s.]; of five hundred and eighty quintals of bark, of the value of 200,880 livres [8370l.]; of feventeen quintals of vicuna wool, of the value of 12,474 livres [519l. 15s.]; of one quintal and

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a half of vanilla, of the value of 11,988 livres [499l. 10s.]; of feven quintals of tortoife-fhell, of the value of 4698 livres [195l. 15s.]; of fifteen quintals of mother-of-pearl, of the value of 1701 livres [71l. 7s. 6d.]; of fixteen quintals of balfam, of the value of 18,900 livres [787l. 10s.]; of two thoufand and thirty quintals of a fpecies of Brafil wood, of the value of 29,295 livres [1220l. 12s. 6d.]; of two thoufand one hundred fkins, with the hair on, of the value of 34,020 livres [1417l. 10s.]; of forty-two quintals of dragon's blood, of the value of 2389 livres [99l. 10d.]; of fix quintals of balfam of capivi, of the value of 2700 livres [113l.]; of feven quintals of farfaparilla, of the value of 972 livres [40l. 9s.]; of one quintal of ivory, of the value of 388 livres [16l. 3s. 4d.]; and laftly, of one hundred and eighty-eight quintals of cotton, of the value of 21,600 livres [900l. 10s.].

In thefe returns, where there was nothing for government, and where all was for trade, the territory of Carthagena furnifhed only to the amount of 93,241 livres [3885l. 10d.]. That of Saint Martha was ftill lefs profitable.

Caufes of the oblivion into which the province of Saint Martha is fallen.

This province, the extent of which, from eaft to weft, is eighty leagues, and one hundred and thirty from north to fouth, was unfortunately difcovered, as were all the neighbouring regions, at the difaftrous period when the kings of Spain, folely intent upon their aggrandizement in Europe, required only from thofe of their fubjects, who went into the New World, the fifth part of the gold which they collected in their plunders. Upon this condition, thefe robbers, who were ftimulated by the love of novelty, by an inordinate paffion for wealth, and even by the hopes of meriting heaven, were left to be the fole arbiters of their actions. Without dread of punifhment or of cenfure, they might wander about from one country to another, preferve or abandon a conqueft, improve a territory, or deftroy it, and maffacre the people, or treat them with humanity, as they thought proper. Every thing fuited the court of Madrid; provided they were

ſupplied with plenty of riches, the ſource from which they came always appeared honeſt and pure.

Ravages and cruelties, that cannot be expreſſed, were the neceſſary conſequence of theſe abominable principles; and univerſal deſolation prevailed. The fatal veſtiges of it are ſtill to be traced in all parts, but more eſpecially at Saint Martha. After theſe deſtroyers had ſpoiled the colonies of the gold which they had picked up in their rivers, and of the pearls which they had fiſhed upon their coaſts, they diſappeared. The few among them who ſettled themſelves there, raiſed one or two towns, and ſome villages, which remained without intercourſe with each other, till it was opened by ſome indefatigable Capuchin miſſionaries, who, in our days, have contrived to collect, in eight hamlets, three thouſand one hundred and ninety-one Motilones, or Evagiras, the moſt ferocious of the ſavages who oppoſed it. Here their deſpicable poſterity vegetates, fed and waited upon by ſome Indians or Negroes. The mother-country hath never ſent one ſingle veſſel into this diſtrict, and hath never received any kind of production from it. The induſtry and activity of this place conſiſts only in a fraudulent trade of cattle, and eſpecially mules, carried on with the Dutch, or with the other cultivators of the neighbouring iſlands, who give in exchange clothing, and ſome other objects of little value. Superſtition keeps up this fatal indolence. It prevents the people from diſcerning that it is not by ceremonies, by flagellations, or by *autos da fé*, that the divinity is to be honoured; but by the ſweat of man's brow, by the clearing of land, and by uſeful labours. Theſe proud men perſuade themſelves that they are greater in a church, or at the feet of a monk, than in the fields or the workſhop. The tyranny of their prieſts hath kept away from them that knowledge which might have undeceived them. Even this work, written purpoſely to enlighten them, they will never be acquainted with. If ſome fortunate event ſhould put it into their hands, they would have an abhorrence of it, and would con-

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fider it as a criminal production, the author of which would deferve to be burnt.

First events that happened at Venezuela.

Alphonfo Ojeda was the firft who reconnoitred, in 1499, the country called Venezuela, or Little Venice, a name that was given to it, becaufe fome huts were feen there, fixed upon ftakes, to raife them above the ftagnant waters that covered the plain. Neither this adventurer, nor his immediate fucceffors, thought of forming any fettlements there. Their ambition was only to make flaves, that they might convey them to the iflands which their ferocity had depopulated. It was not till 1527 that John d'Ampuez fixed a colony upon this coaft, and promifed to his court a region abounding in metals. This promife gave rife, in the following year, to an arrangement fingular enough to attract our attention.

Charles V. who had united fuch a number of crowns upon his head, and concentrated fo much power in himfelf, was engaged, by his ambition, or by the jealoufy of his neighbours, in endlefs difputes, the expences of which exceeded his refources. In his neceffities, he had borrowed confiderable fums of the Welfers of Augfbourg, who were then the richeft merchants in Europe. That prince offered them in payment the province of Venezuela, and they accepted it as a fief of Caftile.

It was to be fuppofed that merchants, who had acquired their fortune by the buying and felling of territorial productions, would eftablifh plantations in their domains. It was to be fuppofed that Germans, who had been brought up in the midft of mines, would work thofe which were upon the fpot that was granted to them. But thefe expectations were entirely fruftrated. The Welfers only fent into the New World four or five hundred of thofe fierce foldiers, whom their country began to fell to whoever would and could pay for their blood. Thefe bafe hirelings carried along with them beyond the feas that propenfity for pillaging which they had contracted in the different wars in which they had ferved. Under the

guidance of their chiefs, Alfinger and Sailler, they overran an immenfe tract of country, putting the favages to the torture, and ripping them open, to extort from them where the gold was to be found. Some Indians, dragged along, and laden with provifions, who were put to death as foon as they funk under the laffitude, followed this favage band. Hunger, fatigue, and poifoned arrows, fortunately delivered the earth of this odious burden. The Spaniards refumed poffeffion of a foil which the Welfers would no longer have any concern with; and their conduct was not very different from that which had juft excited fo much horror. Their commander Carvajal, indeed, forfeited his life for thefe enormities: but this punifhment did not recal from the grave the victims that had been precipitated into it. From their afhes arofe, in procefs of time, a few productions, of which the cacao was the principal.

The cacao hath always fixed the attention of the Spaniards upon Venezuela.

The cacao tree, which is of a middling fize, generally throws out five or fix trunks from its root. The wood of it is brittle and white; its root reddifh, and rather rugged. As it grows up it throws off fome inclined branches, which do not fpread far. Its leaves are alternate, oval, and terminated in a point. The largeft of them are from eight to nine feet in length, and three in breadth. They are all fixed upon fhort petals, flattened, and furnifhed at their bafis with two membranes or ftipulæ. The flowers arife in fmall bunches along the ftems and the branches. Their calix is greenifh, and hath five deep divifions. The five petals that compofe the corolla are fmall, yellow, inflated at their bafe, lengthened out into a kind of ftrap, which is folded up in a circular form, and widened at its extremity. Thefe petals are fixed to a fpatha, formed by the affemblage of ten threads, five of which bear ftamina. The five other intermediate ones are longer, and in the fhape of a tongue. The piftil, which is placed in the centre, and furmounted with one ftyle only, becomes an oviform capfula, almoft of a ligneous texture, fix or feven inches in length, and

BOOK VII. two in breadth; uneven upon its ſurface, marked with ten coſtæ, and ſeparated internally by membranous partitions into five cells. The kernels which it contains, to the number of thirty, or more, are covered with a brittle ſhell, and ſurrounded with a whitiſh pulp.

Theſe kernels are the baſis of the chocolate, the goodneſs of which depends upon the oily part they contain, and conſequently upon their perfect maturity. The capſula is gathered, when, after having changed ſucceſſively from green to yellow, it acquires a dark muſk colour. It is ſlit with a knife, and all the kernels, ſurrounded with their pulp, are taken out and heaped up in a tub, in order that they may ferment. This operation deſtroys the principle of vegetation, and removes the ſuperfluous moiſture from the kernels, which are afterwards expoſed to the ſun upon hurdles, in order to complete the drying of them. The cacao, thus prepared, keeps for a conſiderable time, provided it be in a dry place; but it is not proper to keep it too long, becauſe it loſes, with age, part of its oil and of its properties.

The cacao tree grows readily, from ſeeds that are ſown in holes ranged in a ſtraight line, and at the diſtance of five or ſix feet from each other. Theſe ſeeds, which muſt be freſh, ſoon vegetate. The tree grows up tolerably faſt, and begins to reward the labours of the cultivator at the end of two years. Two crops are gathered every year, which are equal in quality and quantity. This tree requires a rich and moiſt ſoil, which hath not been employed for any other kind of culture. If it ſhould want water, it would produce no fruit, wither, and die. A ſhade, to ſhelter it continually from the heat of the ſun, is not leſs neceſſary to it. The fields in which the cacao trees are planted, are alſo liable to be deſtroyed by the hurricanes, unleſs care be taken to ſkirt them with ſtronger trees. The culture which the tree further requires is neither laborious nor expenſive. It is ſufficient to pull up the weeds that grow round it, and which would deprive it of its nouriſhment.

The cacao tree is cultivated in ſeveral parts of the New World; in ſome of them it even grows naturally. Nevertheleſs, its fruit is nowhere ſo plentiful as at Venezuela; and nowhere of ſo good a quality, if we except Soconuſco.

But for the ſpace of two centuries, the labours of the colony did not turn out to the profit of the mother-country. The national trade was ſo much overburdened with taxes, and ſo much embarraſſed with formalities, that the province found a conſiderable advantage in receiving from the hands of the Dutch of Curaçoa all the merchandiſe they wanted, and in giving them for payment the produce of their ſoil, which theſe indefatigable neighbours ſold for an immenſe profit to part of Europe, and even to the nation that was proprietor of the territory in which it was collected. This ſmuggling intercourſe was ſo briſk and ſo conſtant, that from the year 1700 to the end of 1727, only five ſhips were ſent out from the ports of Spain to Venezuela, and they, all of them without exception, made a voyage more or leſs ruinous.

The province of Venezuela is ſubjected to a monopoly. Proſperity of the Company.

Such was the ſituation of affairs, when ſome merchants of the province of Guipuſcoa imagined, in 1728, that it would be advantageous to them to unite in a body in order to undertake this navigation. Their views were approved and encouraged by government. The principal conditions of the grant were, that the Company ſhould pay for every thing they might chooſe to ſend out, and for every thing they might receive, the taxes that were already ſettled, and that they ſhould entertain, at their own expence, a ſufficient number of guarda coſtas, to prevent the inhabitants from ſmuggling.

Some alterations were ſucceſſively made in the adminiſtration of this ſociety. At firſt they were only permitted to fit out two ſhips every year; but in 1734 they obtained leave to ſend as many as they thought proper.

In the beginning, the Company had not the privilege of an excluſive charter. The government grant-

BOOK VII. ed it to them in 1742, for the department of Caraccas; and ten years after for that of Maracaibo, two territories, the union of which forms the province of Venezuela, extending four hundred miles along the coast.

Till the year 1744, the ships, on their return from the New World, were all to deposit their whole cargo in the port of Cadiz. After this period, they were only obliged to carry there the cacao necessary for the supply of Andalusia and of the neighbouring districts. They were allowed to disembark the rest at Saint Sebastian, the place of the rise of the Company.

It was in this town that the general meeting of the proprietors was originally holden. In 1751, it was transferred to the capital of the empire, where some one of the most esteemed members of the council of the Indies presides over it every two years.

The merchandise was at first delivered to the highest bidder. The Court was then informed that a general discontent prevailed; that a small number of rich associates should monopolize the cacao, which is considered in Spain as an article of primary necessity, and should afterwards sell it at what price they chose. These murmurs occasioned, in 1752, a regulation, that without suppressing the magazines at Saint Sebastian, at Cadiz, and at Madrid, new ones should be established at Corunna, at Alicant, and at Barcelona; and that in all of them the cacao should be retailed to the inhabitants at the price settled by the ministry.

The Company obtained, in 1753, that their shares should be considered as a real estate, that they might be perpetually entailed, and formed into those unalienable and indivisible *majorascos*, or inheritances settled upon the eldest heir, which are in general so flattering to the pride of the Spaniards.

It was decreed, in 1761, that the Company should advance, to the members who might wish for it, the value of sixteen shares; that these shares should be put in trust, and that they might be sold, if after a stipulated period the proprietor did not withdraw them. The intent of this prudent arrangement, was to suc-

cour fuch of the proprietors whofe affairs might be fomewhat embarraffed, and to maintain the credit of the Company by honeft means.

According to regulations made in 1776, the operations of the Company are to extend to Cumana, to the Oroonoko, to the iflands of the Trinity and St. Margaret. Thefe countries, indeed, have not been fubjected to its monopoly: but the favours it has received are equivalent to an exclufive privilege.

During thefe changes, the number of freemen and of flaves were increafing at Venezuela. The feven hundred and fifty-nine plantations, diftributed in fixty-one villages, were emerging from their languid ftate, and others were forming. The former cultures were improved, and new ones eftablifhed. The cattle penetrated more and more into the inland parts of the country. But it was chiefly in the diftrict of Caraccas that the improvements were moft confpicuous. The town which bears this name, contained four and twenty thoufand inhabitants, moft of them in eafy circumftances. The Guayra which ferved for the purpofe of its navigation, though it afforded nothing more than an indifferent anchorage, furrounded with a fmall number of huts, was gradually becoming a confiderable colony, and even a tolerable harbour, by means of a large pier conftructed, with fkill.

At Puerto Cabello, which had been entirely abandoned, though one of the beft ports of America, three hundred houfes were raifed. Let us endeavour to inveftigate the caufes of this fingular profperity, under the fhackles of a monopoly.

The Company underftood from the firft, that their fuccefs was infeparable from that of the colony; and they therefore advanced to the inhabitants as far as 3,240,000 livres [135,000l.], without intereft. This debt was to be difcharged in commodities; and thofe who did not fulfil their engagements were fummoned to the tribunal of the king's reprefentative, whofe province it was folely to judge, whether the caufes of delay were, or were not, reafonable.

BOOK VII. The magazines of the Company were conftantly fupplied with every thing that might be of ufe to the country, and always open to receive every thing the country could pour into them. By this method, the labours were never languid for want of means, or of a market.

The value of what the Company were to fell, or to buy, was not left to the rapacity of their agents. The government of the province always fixed the price of what came from Europe; and a meeting compofed of the directors, colonifts, and factors, always regulated the price of the productions of the foil.

Such of the inhabitants of the New World as were not fatisfied with thefe regulations, were allowed to fend into the Old one, upon their own account, the fixth part of their crops, and to receive the value in merchandife; but thefe affairs were always to be tranfacted by the fhips of the Company.

By thefe arrangements the cultivator was better rewarded for his labours, than he had been at the time of the contraband trade. The new difpofition of things was in reality fatal only to a few fcheming, turbulent, and adventurous men, who collected in their hands, at a low price, the productions of the country, in order to deliver them afterwards to foreign navigators of the fame character as themfelves.

The new kingdom of Grenada, Mexico, fome of the American iflands, and the Canaries, were in the habit of drawing from Venezuela part of the cacao confumed by their inhabitants. Thefe colonies continued to enjoy this right without reftraint. They even purfued it with greater advantage, becaufe the production which they wanted to procure, became more plentiful, and was obtained at a cheaper rate.

Formerly Venezuela furnifhed nothing to the trade of the mother-country. The Company, fince their eftablifhment, have always fupplied it with productions, the quantity of which hath fucceffively increafed. From the year 1748 to 1753, the Company conveyed annually into the colony to the value of

3,197,327 livres [132,221l. 19s. 2d.], in merchandiſe. They drew from thence annually to the amount of 239,144 livres [9964l. 6s. 8d.], in ſilver; thirty-ſeven thouſand quintals of cacao, which they ſold for 5,332,000 livres [222,166l. 13s. 4d.]; two thouſand five hundred quintals of tobacco, ſold for 178,200 livres [7425l.]; one hundred and fifty-ſeven quintals of indigo ſold for 198,990 livres [8291l. 5s.]; twenty thouſand ſkins, with the hair on, ſold for 356,400 livres [14,850l.]; and ſome *dividi*, ſold for 27,000 livres [1125l.]; ſo that their returns amounted to 6,821,734 livres [284,646l. 1s. 8d.]. The apparent profit was therefore, 3,634,407 livres [151,433l. 12s. 6d.]. We call it apparent, becauſe the expences and the cuſtoms abſorbed 1,932,500 livres [80,590l. 16s. 8d.] of this ſum; ſo that the real profit of the Company was only 1,701,897 livres [70,922l. 7s. 6d.].

All theſe branches of commerce have been increaſed except that of the *dividi*, which it hath been neceſſary to give up, ſince it hath been found that it was not fit to be ſubſtituted to the Aleppo nut in dyeing, as it hath been rather inconſiderately imagined. The extenſion would have been ſtill greater, had it been poſſible to put an end to ſmuggling. But notwithſtanding the vigilance of ten cruizers, with eighty-ſix guns, one hundred and ninety-two ſwivels, and five hundred and eighteen men on board; notwithſtanding twelve poſts, with ten or twelve ſoldiers in each, eſtabliſhed along the coaſt, and notwithſtanding the annual expence of 1,400,000 livres [58,333l. 6s. 8d.], the contraband trade hath not been entirely eradicated; and it is chiefly at Coro that it is carried on.

The nation has profited equally by the eſtabliſhment of the Company. It does not pay them for the cacao more than half the price which the Dutch uſed to charge. The quintal, which is now bought in Spain for 160 livres [6l. 13s. 4d.], uſed formerly to coſt 320 [13l. 6s. 8d.].

The advantages which accrue to the government

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from the eftablifhment of the Company are not lefs evident. Before this period, the revenues of the crown at Venezuela, were never fufficient to defray the expences of fovereignty. They have fince increafed confiderably, not only becaufe the citadel of Puerto Cabello has been conftructed, which hath coft 1,620,000 livres [67,500l.], but alfo, becaufe a greater number of regular troops are maintained in the country. The treafury, however, hath fome fuperfluous cafh, which it diftributes at Cumana, at St. Margaret's, at Trinity ifland, and on the Oroonoko. This is not the whole. In Europe, the productions of the country pay annually to the ftate more than 1,600,000 [66,666l. 13s. 4d.], and the navigation they give rife to forms fifteen hundred failors for it, or keeps them in conftant employment.

But hath the Company itfelf been equally profperous? There was every reafon to doubt, in the beginning, whether it would maintain itfelf. Although the colonifts were allured to become members of it, they refufed at firft to deliver their productions to it. In Spain, where a commercial affociation was a novelty, no great eagernefs was fhown to become a member of it, notwithftanding the example fet by the monarch, by the queen, by the infant Don Lewis, and by the province of Guipufcoa. It was neceffary to reduce the number of fhares to fifteen hundred, which it had been refolved to carry on to three thoufand; and the capital, intended to be fix millions [250,000l.], was reduced to three [125,000l.]. Thefe difficulties did not prevent confiderable dividends from being paid to the proprietors, even in the very firft years. The fums in referve were, however, fufficient, in 1752, to double the original funds, and in 1766 to treble them, with a regular intereft of five per cent, exclufive of the extraordinary dividends. On the firft of January 1772, the Company's debts, even including the value of the fhares, which had rifen to 1,000,000 livres [375,000l.], amounted to no more than 15,198,618 livres 12 fols [633,275l. 15s. 6d.], and they were in poffeffion of

21,153,760 livres 4 ſols [881,407l. 3s. 6d.]. Conſequently, they had 5,955,141 livres 12 ſols [248,150l. 18s.] above what they owed. BOOK VII.

The improper ſpirit that generally prevails in excluſive ſocieties, hath not affected that of Caraccas ſo much as others. It hath never been led aſtray from its ſyſtem by abſurd enterpriſes. Its integrity hath preſerved it from every kind of law, and even from the ſlighteſt conteſt. That its deſtiny might not be expoſed to the caprices of the ocean, or to the riſks of war, its cargoes have been all of them inſured. Its engagements have been fulfilled with inviolable fidelity. And laſtly, in a country where moſt of the landed eſtates are entailed, and where there are few good vents for money, the Company hath obtained all that it wanted, at two and a half per cent.

In order to conciliate to itſelf the good wiſhes of the nation, which are generally denied in all parts to a monopoly, the Company hath always been deſirous of appearing animated with a public ſpirit. From the year 1735, it took upon itſelf the care of the manufactures of Placentia, which ſcarce uſed to furniſh eight thouſand firelocks per annum; and which, at preſent, without reckoning ſome other kinds of arms that have begun to be fabricated there, ſupplies fourteen thouſand four hundred, with the ſcutcheons of their locks, which it was before neceſſary to bring from Liege. Though during the ſhort war of 1762, ſix of the Company's veſſels, richly laden, fell into the hands of the Engliſh, it ſtill devoted to government all the credit and influence it poſſeſſed. Wood for the building of ſhips was periſhing in the province of Navarre, ſo that it became neceſſary to cut it down. Roads were alſo to be made to bring it down to the borders of the Vidaſſoa, and this uncertain river was to be put in a ſtate fit to carry this wood to its mouth, after which it was to be conducted to the important harbour of Ferrol. Since the year 1766, all theſe things are executed by the Company to the great advantage of the military branch of the navy.

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This Company still continues to announce other enterprises useful to the state; but it is a matter of doubt whether it will be allowed time to execute them. The resolution which the Court of Madrid seems to have taken, to open its ports of the New World to all its subjects of the Old, must necessarily excite a presumption that the province of Venezuela will, sooner or later, cease to be under the restraints of a monopoly. It is however a problem, whether the dissolution of the Company will be productive of good or evil; and it can only be solved by the nature of the measures that shall be adopted by the Spanish ministry.

The Court of Madrid gives up Cumana to the care of Las Casas. Ineffectual attempts of this celebrated man to render this district flourishing.

The coast of Cumana was discovered in 1498 by Columbus. Ojeda, who had embarked with this great navigator, landed there the next year, and even made some exchanges peaceably with the savages. It appeared more convenient to the adventurers who succeeded him, to strip these feeble men of their gold or of their pearls; and this kind of robbery was as common in this region as in the other parts of America, when Las Casas undertook to put a stop to it.

This man, so famous in the annals of the New World, had accompanied his father at the time of the first discovery. The mildness and simplicity of the Indians affected him so strongly, that he made himself an ecclesiastic, in order to devote his labours to their conversion. But this soon became the least of his attentions. Being more a *man* than a *priest*, he felt more for the cruelties exercised against them than for their ridiculous superstitions. He was continually hurrying from one hemisphere to the other, in order to comfort those for whom he had conceived such an attachment, or to soften their tyrants. The inutility of his efforts convinced him, that he should never do any good in settlements that were already formed; and he proposed to himself to establish a colony upon a new foundation.

His colonists were all to be planters, artificers, or missionaries. No one was to be allowed to mix with them without his consent. A particular dress, orna-

mented with a crofs, was to prevent them from being thought to belong to that race of Spaniards which had rendered itfelf fo odious. He reckoned, that with thefe kinds of knights, he fhould be able, without war, violence, or flavery, to civilize the Indians, to convert them, to accuftom them to labour, and even to employ them in working the mines. He afked no affiftance from the treafury at firft, and he was afterwards fatisfied with the twelfth of the tributes which he fhould fooner or later bring into it.

The ambitious, who govern empires, confider the people as mere objects of trade, and treat as chimerical every thing that tends to the improvement and happinefs of the human fpecies. Such was at firft the impreffion which the fyftem of Las Cafas made upon the Spanifh miniftry. He was not difcouraged by denials, and at length fucceeded in having the diftrict of Cumana ceded to him, to put his theory in practice. This man of ardent genius immediately went through all the provinces of Caftile, in order to collect men accuftomed to the labours of the field, and to thofe of manufactures. But thefe peaceful citizens had not fo eager a defire to leave their country as foldiers or failors have. Scarce could he prevail upon two hundred of them to follow him. With thefe he fet fail for America, and landed at Porto-Rico in 1519, after a fortunate voyage.

Although Las Cafas had only quitted the New Hemifphere two years before, yet he found a total alteration in it at his return. The entire deftruction of the Indians in the iflands fubject to Spain, had excited the refolution of going to the continent in fearch of flaves, to replace the unfortunate men who had perifhed from oppreffion. This cruelty difgufted the independent minds of the favages. In the height of their refentment, they maffacred as many of the Spaniards as fell into their hands by chance; and two miffionaries, who probably came to Cumana with a laudable defign, were the victims of thefe juft retaliations. Ocampo

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immediately went from St. Domingo, to punifh an outrage committed, as it was faid, againft Heaven itfelf; and after having deftroyed all by fire and fword, he built a village upon the fpot, which he called Toledo.

It was within thefe weak palifades that Las Cafas was obliged to place the fmall number of his companions who had refifted the intemperance of the climate, and the attempts made to feduce them from him. Their refidence was not long here. Moft of them were pierced with the darts of an implacable enemy; and thofe who efcaped, were forced, in 1521, to feek an afylum fomewhere elfe.

Some Spaniards have fince fettled at Cumana; but the population of this diftrict hath always been much confined, and hath never extended to any diftance from the coafts. During the courfe of two centuries, the mother-country had not any direct intercourfe with this fpot. It is but lately, that one or two fmall fhips have been fent there annually, which, in exchange for the liquors and merchandife of Europe, receive cocoa and fome other productions.

Of the river Oroonoko.

It was Columbus, who, in 1498, firft difcovered the Oroonoko, the borders of which have fince been named Spanifh Guiana. This great river takes its fource among the Cordeleirias mountains, and difcharges itfelf into the ocean by forty openings, after it hath been increafed throughout an immenfe track by the afflux of a prodigious number of rivers more or lefs confiderable. Such is its impetuofity, that it ftems the ftrongeft tides, and preferves the frefhnefs of its waters to the diftance of twelve leagues from that vaft and deep channel within which it was confined. Its rapidity, however, is not always the fame, which is owing to a circumftance perhaps entirely peculiar. The Oroonoko, which begins to fwell in April, continues rifing for five months, and during the fixth remains at its greateft height. From October, it begins gradually to fubfide till the month of March, through-

out the whole of which it remains in the fixed ſtate of its greateſt diminution. Theſe alternate changes are regular, and even invariable.

This phenomenon ſeems to depend much more on the ſea than on the land. In the ſix months that the river is riſing, the hemiſphere of the New World preſents nothing but ſeas, at leaſt but little land, to the perpendicular action of the rays of the ſun. In the ſix months of its fall, America exhibits nothing but dry land to the planet by which it is illuminated. The ſea at this time is leſs ſubject to the influence of the ſun, or, at leaſt, its current towards the eaſtern ſhore is more balanced, more broken by the land, and muſt therefore leave a freer courſe to the rivers, which not being then ſo ſtrongly confined by the ſea, cannot be ſwelled but by rains, or by the melting of the ſnows from the Cordeleirias. Perhaps, indeed, the riſing of the waters of the Oroonoko may depend entirely on the rainy ſeaſon. But to be thoroughly acquainted with the cauſes of ſo ſingular a phenomenon, it would be neceſſary to conſider the connection between the courſe of this river, and that of the Amazons by Rio Negro, and to know the track and direction both of the one and the other. From the difference of their poſition, their ſource, and their opening into the ſea, it is not improbable that the cauſe of ſo remarkable a difference in the periods of their flux and reflux might be diſcovered. All things are connected in this world by ſyſtem. The courſes of the rivers depend either on the diurnal or annual revolutions of the earth. Whenever enlightened men ſhall have viſited the banks of the Oroonoko, they will diſcover, or at leaſt they will attempt to diſcover, the cauſes of theſe phenomena: but their endeavours will be attended with difficulties. This river is not ſo navigable as it might be preſumed from its magnitude; its bed is in many places filled up with rocks, which oblige the navigator, at times, to carry both his boats and the merchandiſe they are laden with.

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Former and present condition of the women on the banks of the Oroonoko.

Before the arrival of the Europeans, the people who border on this river, but little diſtant from the burning equator, knew not the uſe of clothes, nor the reſtraints of police; neither had they any form of government. Free under the yoke of poverty, they lived chiefly by hunting and fiſhing, and on wild fruits. But little of their time or labour could be ſpent on agriculture, where they had nothing but a ſtick to plough with, and hatchets made of ſtone to cut down trees; which, after being burned or rotted, left the ſoil in a proper ſtate for bearing.

The women lived in a ſtate of oppreſſion on the Oroonoko, as they do in all barbarous regions. The ſavage, whoſe wants engage his whole attention, is employed only in providing for his ſafety and his ſubſiſtence. He hath no other allurement to partake of the pleaſures of love, than that mere natural inſtinct which attends to the perpetuity of the ſpecies. The intercourſe between the two ſexes, which is generally caſual, would ſcarce ever be followed by any permanent conſequences, if paternal and maternal tenderneſs did not attach the parents to their offspring. But before the firſt child can provide for itſelf, others are born, which call for the ſame care. At length the inſtant arrives, when this ſocial reaſon exiſts no more: but then the power of long habit, the comfort of ſeeing ourſelves ſurrounded by a family more or leſs numerous, the hopes of being aſſiſted in our latter years by our poſterity; all theſe circumſtances expel the idea and the wiſh of a ſeparation. The men are the perſons who reap the greateſt advantages from this cohabitation. Among people who hold nothing in eſtimation but ſtrength and courage, tyranny is always exerciſed over weakneſs, in return for the protection that is afforded it. The women live in a ſtate of diſgrace. Labours, conſidered as the moſt abject, are their portion. Men, whoſe hands are accuſtomed to the handling of arms, and to the management of the oar, would think themſelves degraded, if they employed them in

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ſedentary occupations, or even in the labours of agri-culture.

Among a people of ſhepherds, who having a more can beſtow rather more attention greeable, the women are leſs wretch- and leiſure which they enjoy, theſe people can ... to themſelves an idea of beauty; they can indulge their taſte in the object of their affections; and, to the idea of natural pleaſure, can add that of a more noble ſenſation.

The connections between the two ſexes are ſtill further improved, as ſoon as the lands begin to be cultivated. Property, which had no exiſtence among ſavages, and was of little conſequence among a people of ſhepherds, begins to acquire a degree of importance among a people engaged in agriculture. The inequality which ſoon introduces itſelf among the fortunes of men, muſt occaſion ſome in the conſideration they hold. The ties of marriage are then no longer formed by chance, but according to conditions in life that are ſuitable to each other. A man, in order to be accepted, muſt make himſelf agreeable; and this neceſſity brings on attentions to the women, and gives them a degree of dignity.

They receive additional importance from the eſtabliſhment of the arts and of commerce. Buſineſs is then increaſed, and connections are complicated. Men, who are often obliged, from more extenſive affairs, to quit their manufactures and their home, are under the neceſſity of adding to their talents the vigilance of their wives. As the habit of gallantry, luxury, and diſſipation, hath not yet entirely diſguſted them of ſolitary or ſerious occupations, they devote themſelves, without reſerve, and with ſucceſs, to functions with which they think themſelves honoured. The retirement which this kind of life requires, renders the practice of all the domeſtic virtues dear and familiar to them. The influence, the reſpect, and the attachment of all thoſe that are about them, are the reward of a conduct ſo eſtimable.

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At length the time comes, when men grow diſguſt-ed of labour, from the increaſe of their fortunes. Their principal care is to prevent time from hanging heavy on their hands, to multiply th[illegible] and to extend their enjoyments. A[illegible] women are eagerly ſought after, bo[illegible] the amiable qualities they hold from nature, and thoſe they have received from education. Their connections become more extenſive, ſo that they are no longer ſuited for a retired life, but required to ſhine in a more brilliant ſcene. When introduced upon the ſtage of the world, they become the ſoul of every pleaſure, and the primum mobile of the moſt important affairs. Supreme happineſs conſiſts in making one's ſelf agreeable to them; and it is the height of ambition to obtain ſome diſtinction from them. Then it is, that the freedom which exiſts between the two ſexes in a ſtate of nature is revived, with this remarkable difference, that, in poliſhed cities, the huſband is often leſs attached to his wife, and the wife to her huſband, than in the midſt of the foreſts; that their offſpring, truſted, at the inſtant of their birth, to the hands of mercenaries, are no longer a tie; and that infidelity, which would be attended with no fatal conſequences among moſt ſavage people, affects domeſtic tranquillity and happineſs among civilized nations, where it is one of the principal ſymptoms of general corruption, and of the extinction of all decent affections.

The tyranny exerciſed againſt the women upon the banks of the Oroonoko, ſtill more than in the reſt of the New World, muſt be one of the principal cauſes of the depopulation of theſe countries that are ſo much favoured by nature. Mothers have contracted the cuſtom of deſtroying the daughters they bring forth, by cutting the umbilical cord ſo cloſe to the body, that the children die of an hæmorrhage. Chriſtianity itſelf hath not even been able to put a ſtop to this abominable practice. The fact is confirmed by the Jeſuit Gumilla; who being informed that one of his

converts had been guilty of ſuch a murder, went to her, in order to reproach her of her crime in the ſtrongeſt terms. The woman liſtened to the emiſſary, without ſhowing the leaſt ſigns of emotion. When he had finiſhed his remonſtrance, ſhe deſired leave to anſwer him, which ſhe did in the following manner:

" Would to God, O Father! Would to God, that, " at the inſtant of my birth, my mother had ſhowed " love and compaſſion enough for her child, to ſpare " me all the evils I have endured, and thoſe I ſhall " ſtill ſuffer, to the end of my life! Had my mother " deſtroyed me at my birth, I ſhould have died, but " I ſhould not have been ſenſible of my death; and " ſhould have eſcaped the moſt miſerable of condi- " tions. How much have I already ſuffered; and who " knows what I have ſtill to undergo!

" Repreſent to thyſelf, O Father, the troubles that " are reſerved for an Indian woman among theſe In- " dians. They accompany us into the fields with " their bow and arrows; while we go there, laden " with an infant, whom we carry in a baſket, and an- " other, who hangs at our breaſt. They go to kill " birds, or to catch fiſh; while we are employed in " digging the ground, and after having gone through " all the labours of the culture, are obliged alſo to " bear thoſe of the harveſt. They return in the even- " ing without any burthen; and we bring them roots " for their food, and maize for their drink. As ſoon " as they come home, they go and amuſe themſelves " with their friends; while we are fetching wood and " water to prepare for their ſupper. When they have " eaten, they fall aſleep; and we paſs almoſt the " whole night in grinding the maize, and in preparing " the chica for them. And what reward have we for " theſe labours? They drink; and when they are in- " toxicated, they drag us by the hair, and trample us " under foot.

" O Father, would to God that my mother had de- " ſtroyed me at the inſtant of my birth! Thou know- " eſt thyſelf that our complaints are juſt; thou haſt

"daily inſtances before thine eyes of the truth of my "aſſertions. But the greateſt misfortune we labour "under it is impoſſible thou ſhouldſt know. It is a "melancholy circumſtance for a poor Indian wom[an] "to ſerve her huſband as a ſlave in the fields, oppr[eſſ]"ed with fatigue, and at home deprived of tranqui"lity: but it is a dreadful thing, when twenty years "are elapſed, to ſee him take another woman, whoſe "judgment is not formed. He attaches himſelf to "her. She beats our children; ſhe commands us, "and treats us as her ſervants; and, if the leaſt mur"mur eſcape us, a ſtick raiſed . . . . Oh! Fa"ther, how is it poſſible that we ſhould bear this con"dition? What can an Indian woman do better than "to prevent her child from living in a ſtate of ſlavery "infinitely worſe than death? Would to God, O Fa"ther! I repeat it, that my mother had conceived af"fection enough for me to bury me when I was born! "My heart would not have been thus afflicted, nor "would mine eyes have been accuſtomed to tears."

State of the Spaniſh colony formed on the banks of the Oroonoko.

The Spaniards, who could not pay attention to all the regions they diſcovered, loſt ſight of the Oroonoko. They did not attempt to ſail up this river again till the year 1535, when, not having found there the mines they were in ſearch of, they neglected it. Nevertheleſs, the few who had been thrown upon this ſpot, devoted themſelves with ſo much aſſiduity to the culture of tobacco, that they delivered a few cargoes of it every year to the foreign veſſels which came to purchaſe it. This contraband trade was prohibited by the mother-country; and this weak ſettlement was twice plundered by enterpriſing pirates. Theſe diſaſters occaſioned it to be forgotten. It was recalled to mind again in 1753. The commodore Nicholas de Yturiaga was ſent there. This prudent man eſtabliſhed a regular ſyſtem of government in the colony that had formed itſelf inſenſibly in this part of the New World.

In 1771, thirteen villages were ſeen upon the banks of the Oroonoko, which contained four thouſand two

hundred and nineteen Spaniards, Meftees, Mulattoes, or Negroes; four hundred and thirty-one plantations; and twelve thoufand eight hundred and fifty-four oxen, mules, or horfes.

At the fame period, the Indians, who had been prevailed upon to quit their favage life, were diftributed in forty-nine hamlets.

The five of thefe which had been under the direction of the Jefuits, computed fourteen hundred and twenty-fix inhabitants, three hundred and forty-four plantations, and nine hundred and fifty heads of cattle.

Eleven of them, which are under the direction of the Francifcan Friars, reckoned nineteen hundred and thirty-four inhabitants, three hundred and five plantations, and nine hundred and fifty heads of cattle.

Eleven others, which are under the direction of the Capuchins of Arragon, computed two thoufand two hundred and eleven inhabitants, four hundred and feventy plantations, and five hundred and feven heads of cattle.

The two and twenty which are under the direction of the Capuchins of Catalonia, reckoned fix thoufand eight hundred and thirty inhabitants, fifteen hundred and ninety-two plantations, and forty-fix thoufand heads of cattle.

This amounted in the whole to fixty-two colonies, fixteen thoufand fix hundred and twenty inhabitants, three thoufand one hundred and forty-two plantations, and feventy-two thoufand three hundred and forty-one heads of cattle.

Till thefe laft mentioned times, the Dutch of Curaçao were the only perfons who traded with this fettlement. They fupplied its wants, and were paid with tobacco, hides, and cattle. The bargains were all concluded at St. Thomas, the capital of the colony. The Negroes and the Europeans managed their own affairs; but they were the miffionaries alone who treated for their converts. The fame arrangement of things ftill fubfifts, although for fome years paft the competi-

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tion of the Spaniſh ſhips hath begun to keep away the ſmuggling veſſels.

It is pleaſing to entertain a hope that theſe vaſt and fertile regions will at length emerge from the ſtate of obſcurity into which they are plunged, and that the ſeeds which have been ſown there will produce, ſooner or later, abundant fruits. Between a ſavage life and a ſtate of ſociety, there is an immenſe deſert to paſs; but from the infancy of civilization to the full vigour of trade, there are but a few ſteps to take. Time, as it increaſes ſtrength, ſhortens diſtances. The advantage that might be obtained from the labour of theſe new colonies, by procuring them conveniences, would bring riches to Spain.

Short deſcription of the New kingdom of Grenada.

Behind theſe very extenſive coaſts of which we have been ſpeaking, and in the inland part of the country, is found what the Spaniards call the New kingdom of Grenada. Its extent is prodigious. Its climate is more or leſs damp, more or leſs cold, more or leſs hot, and more or leſs temperate, according to the direction of the branches of the Cordeleirias mountains, which interſect the different parts of it. Few of theſe mountains are ſuſceptible of cultivation: but moſt of the plains and valleys that ſeparate them exhibit a fertile ſoil.

Even before the conqueſt the country was very little inhabited. In the midſt of the ſavages that wandered over it, a nation had, however, been formed, which had a religion, a form of government, and which practiſed cultivation. This nation, though inferior to the Mexicans and Peruvians, had raiſed itſelf much above the other people of America. Neither hiſtory nor tradition inform us in what manner this ſtate had been created; but we muſt ſuppoſe that it hath exiſted, although there be no traces remaining of its civilization.

This kingdom, if we may be allowed to call it ſo, was called Bogota. Benalcazar, who commanded at Quito, attacked it in 1526, on the ſouth ſide; and

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Quesada, who had landed at Saint Martha, attacked it on the north. It was to be supposed that men, united among themselves, accustomed to fight together, and led on by an absolute chief, would make some resistance. This they accordingly did; but were at length obliged to yield to the valour, the arms, and the discipline of the Europeans. The two Spanish captains had the glory, since it is one, of adding one large possession to those with which their sovereigns had suffered themselves to be overloaded in this New Hemisphere. In process of time, the provinces more or less distant from this central point were partly subjected. We say partly, because such is the natural disposition of the country, that it was never possible to subdue all its inhabitants; and that those among them who had submitted to the yoke, broke it as soon as they had the courage to determine resolutely about it. It is not even improbable that most of them would have taken this resolution, had they been employed in those destructive labours which have caused such ravages in the other parts of the New World.

What the New kingdom of Grenada hath been, what it is, and what it may become.

Some writers have spoken with almost unexampled enthusiasm of the riches which were at first derived from this new kingdom. They make them amount to a sum capable of astonishing the minds of those who are most eager of the marvellous. Never, perhaps, was exaggeration carried so far. If the reality had only approached near to the fabulous accounts, this remarkable prosperity would have been recorded in the public registers, as well as the state of all the colonies that are really important. Other monuments could have perpetuated the remembrance of it. These treasures have never, therefore, existed at any time, except under the pen of a few writers, naturally credulous, or who suffered themselves to be seduced by the hope of adding to the splendour with which their country already shone.

The New kingdom furnishes at present the emerald, a precious stone, which is transparent, and of a green

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Some countries of Europe furniſh emeralds; but they are of a very imperfect kind, and in little eſtimation.

It was for a long time believed that emeralds of a bright green came from the Eaſt Indies, and it is on this account that they have been called oriental. This opinion hath been rejected, ſince thoſe who ſupported it have not been able to name the places where they were found. It is now certain that Aſia hath never ſold us any of theſe jewels, except what ſhe herſelf had received from the New Hemiſphere.

Theſe beautiful emeralds, therefore, belong certainly to America alone. The firſt conquerors of Peru found a great quantity of them, which they broke on anvils, from an opinion which theſe adventurers entertained, that they would not break if they were fine. This loſs became the more ſenſibly felt through the impoſſibility of diſcovering the mine from whence the Incas had drawn them. The kingdom of New Grenada ſoon ſupplied this deficiency. This diſtrict ſends at preſent a leſs quantity of theſe jewels, whether it be that they are become more ſcarce, or that they are leſs in faſhion in our climate than they were. But gold comes from thence in greater plenty, and it is ſupplied by the provinces of Popayan and Chaco. It is obtained without much riſk, and at no conſiderable expence.

This precious metal, which in other parts muſt be digged out of the entrails of rocks, mountains, and precipices, is here found almoſt at the ſurface of the earth. It is mixed with it, but eaſily ſeparated by waſhings, more or leſs frequently repeated. The negroes, who are never employed in mines of any depth, becauſe experience hath ſhown that the cold in theſe mines deſtroyed them very faſt, are the only perſons burdened with theſe troubleſome labours. The cuſtom is, that the ſlaves ſhould bring to their maſters a

certain quantity of gold. All they can collect above this quantity belongs to themſelves, as alſo what they find upon the days conſecrated to reſt by religion, but under the expreſs condition that they ſhall provide for their ſubſiſtence during theſe holidays. By theſe arrangements, the moſt laborious, the moſt frugal, and the moſt fortunate among them, are able, ſooner or later, to purchaſe their liberty. Then they raiſe their eyes towards the Spaniards; then they mix their blood with that of theſe proud conquerors.

The court of Madrid was diſſatisfied that a region, the natural advantages of which were continually extolled, ſhould furniſh ſo few articles, and ſo little of each. The diſtance of this immenſe country from the centre of authority, eſtabliſhed at Lima for the government of all South America, muſt have been one of the principal cauſes of this inactivity. A more immediate ſuperintendance was accordingly given to it, in order to communicate more motion to it, and to make that motion more regular. The vice-royalty of Peru was divided into two parts. That which was eſtabliſhed in 1718, in the New kingdom of Grenada, was formed upon the North Sea, of all that ſpace that extends from the frontiers of Mexico to the Oroonoko; and upon the South Sea of that ſpace which begins at Veragua and ends at Tombez. In the inland parts of the country Quito was alſo incorporated in it.

This new arrangement, though prudent and neceſſary, did not at firſt produce the great advantages that were expected from it. Much time is required to form good directors; and more ſtill, perhaps, to eſtabliſh order, and to reſtore to labour whole generations, enervated by continuing for two centuries in a ſtate of idleneſs and libertiniſm. The revolution hath, however, begun to take place; and Spain already receives ſome benefit from it.

Half of the gold collected in the colony was ſmuggled to foreigners; and it was chiefly by the rivers Atrato and de la Hache that this clandeſtine trade was carried on. The government have made themſelves

masters of the course of these rivers, by forts properly situated. Notwithstanding these precautions, the smuggling will still continue, as long as the Spaniards and their neighbours shall find their interest in it; but it will diminish. The harbours of the mother-country will send a greater quantity of merchandise, and will receive more metals.

The communication between one province, one city, and even one village and another, was difficult or impracticable. Every traveller was more or less exposed to be plundered or massacred by the independent Indians. These enemies, who were formerly implacable, yield, by degrees, to the invitations of the missionaries who have the courage to go in search of them, and to the marks of benevolence which have at length succeeded to the cruelties so generally practised in the New World. If this mild spirit should be continued, the savages of this region may one day become all civilized, and have a fixed residence.

Notwithstanding the known goodness of great part of the territory, several of the provinces forming the New kingdom used to draw their subsistence from Europe or from North America. At length the government have been able to prohibit the importation of foreign flour throughout the extent of the vice-royalty, and even to furnish Cuba with some. When the means shall no longer be wanting, private plantations will be established in the New World along the coasts; but the difficulty and the dearness of transport will never allow the inland parts of their country to extend their harvests beyond what is required for local consumption. The chief wish of the people who inhabit these parts is generally confined to the extension of the mines.

Every thing announces that these mines are in a manner innumerable in the New kingdom. The quality of the soil points them out. The almost daily earthquakes that happen there are owing to them. It is from them that the gold must flow, which the rivers habitually carry along with them; and it is from them

that the gold came, which the Spaniards, at their firſt arrival in the New World, took from the ſavages on the coaſts in ſuch great quantities. Theſe are not mere conjectures at Maraquita, at Muſo, at Pampeluna, at Tacayma, and at Canaverales. The great mines that are found there are going to be opened; and it is hoped they will not be leſs abundant than thoſe of the valley of Neyva, which for ſome time paſt have been worked with ſo much ſucceſs. Theſe new treaſures will all unite themſelves to thoſe of Chaco and Popayan in Santa Fè de Bogota, the capital of the vice-royalty.

The city is ſituated at the foot of a ſteep and cold mountain, at the entrance of a vaſt and ſuperb plain. In 1774, it contained ſeventeen hundred and ſeventy houſes, three thouſand two hundred and forty-ſix families, and ſixteen thouſand two hundred and thirty-three inhabitants. Population muſt neceſſarily increaſe there, ſince it is the ſeat of government, the place where the coin is ſtricken, the ſtaple of trade; and laſtly, ſince it is the reſidence of an archbiſhop, whoſe immediate juriſdiction extends over thirty-one Spaniſh villages, which are called towns; over one hundred and ninety-five Indian colonies, anciently ſubdued; and over eight and twenty miſſions, eſtabliſhed in modern times. This archbiſhop hath likewiſe, as metropolitan, a ſort of inſpection over the dioceſes of Quito, of Panama, of Caraccas, of Saint Martha, and of Carthagena. It is by this laſt place, though at the diſtance of one hundred leagues, and by the river Magdalena, that Santa Fè keeps up its communication with Europe. The ſame route ſerves for Quito.

Remarkable ſingularities in the province of Quito.

This province is of immenſe extent; but the greateſt part of this vaſt ſpace is full of foreſts, moraſſes, and deſerts, in which we meet with nothing but a few wandering ſavages, at great intervals of diſtance. The only part that can properly be ſaid to be occupied, and governed by the Spaniards, is a valley of fourſcore leagues in length, and fifteen in breadth, formed by two branches of the Cordeleirias.

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This is one of the finest countries in the world. Even in the centre of the torrid zone spring here is perpetual. Nature hath combined, under the line that covers so many seas and so little land, every circumstance that could moderate the ardent heat of that beneficent constellation which is the cause of universal fertility: these are, the elevation of the globe in this summit of its sphere; the vicinity of mountains of immense height and extent, and always covered with snows; and continual winds which refresh the country the whole year, by interrupting the force of the perpendicular rays of heat. Nevertheless, after a morning which is usually delightful, vapours begin to arise about one or two o'clock in the forenoon. The sky is covered with gloomy clouds, which are changed into storms. Then the whole atmosphere is illuminated, and appears to be set on fire by lightning; and the thunder makes the mountains resound with a terrible noise. To these dreadful earthquakes are sometimes added: at other times, rain or sunshine prevails without intermission for fifteen days together; and then there is an universal consternation. The excess of moisture spoils what is sown, and drought produces dangerous diseases.

But, if we except these unhappy accidents, which are extremely rare, the climate is one of the most wholesome. The air is so pure, that those nauseous insects are there unknown which infest almost the whole of America. Though licentiousness and neglect render venereal complaints here almost general, the people suffer very little from them. Those who have inherited this contagious distemper, or who have acquired it, grow old equally without danger and without inconvenience.

The moisture and the action of the sun being continual, and always sufficient to unfold and strengthen the shoots, the agreeable picture of the three most beautiful seasons of the year is continually presented to the eye of the inhabitants. In proportion as the grass withers, fresh grass springs up; and the enamel

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of the meadows is hardly paſt, but it appears afreſh. The trees are inceſſantly covered with green leaves, adorned with odoriferous flowers, and always laden with fruit; the colour, form, and beauty of which are continually varying in all their ſeveral progreſſive ſtates, from their firſt appearance to their maturity. The corn advances in the ſame progreſſion of fertility that is always renewing. At one view one may behold the new-ſown ſeed ſpringing up, ſome that is grown larger and ſpiked with ears, ſome turning yellow, and ſome under the reaper's ſcythe. The whole year is paſſed in ſowing and reaping, within the compaſs of the ſame horizon. This conſtant variety depends on the diverſity of the expoſures.

Reaſons why the country of Quito is ſo populous as it is. Labours of its inhabitants.

Accordingly, this is the moſt populous part of the continent of America. There are ten or twelve thouſand inhabitants at St. Michael d'Ibarra. Eighteen or twenty thouſand at Otabalo. Ten or twelve thouſand at Latacunga. Eighteen or twenty thouſand at Riobamba. Eight or ten thouſand at Hambato. From five-and-twenty to thirty thouſand at Cuença. Ten thouſand at Loxa, and ſix thouſand at Zaruma. The country places do not afford a leſs number of men than the towns,

Population would certainly be leſs conſiderable, if, as in many other places, the people had been buried in the mines. Numberleſs writers have blamed the inhabitants of this diſtrict for not having continued to work the mines that were opened at the time of the conqueſt, and for having neglected thoſe that have been ſucceſſively diſcovered. This reproach appears to be ill-founded to enlighten perſons, who have an opportunity of examining nearly into theſe matters. Their opinion in general is, that the mines of this diſtrict are not ſufficiently plentiful to defray the neceſſary expences of working them. We ſhall not pretend to decide upon this diſpute. Nevertheleſs, if we do but juſt conſider the paſſion which the Spaniards have always ſhown for the kind of wealth, which, without any labour on their parts, coſts nothing more

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than the blood of their ſlaves, we ſhall be induced to think, that nothing but a total impoſſibility, evinced by repeated experience, can have determined them to reſiſt their natural propenſity, and the urgent ſolicitations of the mother-country.

In the country of Quito, the manufactures keep thoſe perſons employed, who in other parts are enervated by the mines. Many hats, cottons, and coarſe woollen cloths, are fabricated there. With the produce of the quantity of theſe articles, conſumed in the different countries of South America, Quito paid for the wines, brandy, and oils which it was not allowed to procure from its own ſoil; for the dried and ſalt fiſh that came from the coaſts; for the ſoap, made of goats greaſe, that was ſupplied by Piura and Truſcillo; for the crude or wrought iron that was wanted for its manufactures; and for the ſmall quantity that it was poſſible it ſhould conſume of the merchandiſe of our hemiſphere. Theſe reſources have been conſiderably leſſened, ſince manufactures of the ſame kind have been eſtabliſhed in the neighbouring provinces; and eſpecially ſince the ſuperior cheapneſs of the European cottons and linens hath extended the uſe of them in a ſingular manner. Accordingly, the country is fallen into the moſt extreme ſtate of miſery.

It will never emerge from this ſituation by its proviſions. Not but that its fields are in general covered with ſugar-canes, with all ſorts of corn, with delicious fruits, and with numerous flocks. It would be difficult to find a ſoil ſo fertile, and cultivated with ſo little expence; but nothing that it furniſhes can ſupply foreign markets. Its natural riches muſt be conſumed upon the ſame territory that hath produced them. The bark is its only production which it has hitherto been poſſible to export.

The bark comes from the province of Quito. Reflections upon this remedy.

The tree which yields this precious remedy hath a ſtraight ſtem, and riſes to a conſiderable height when left to itſelf. Its trunk and its branches are proportioned to its height. The leaves, which are oppoſite, and connected at their baſe by an intermediary mem-

brane or ſtipula, are of an oval figure, ſpread out at the lower part, and acute at their apex; they are very ſmooth and of a beautiful green. From the axillæ of the upper leaves, which are ſmaller, ariſe cluſters of flowers, reſembling, at firſt ſight, thoſe of the lavendar. Their calix, which is ſhort, hath five diviſions. The corolla forms an elongated tube, bluiſh on the outſide, and red within; it is filled with five ſtamina, ſpread out at the upper part, and divided into five lobes finely dentated. It bears upon a piſtil, which being ſurmounted with a ſingle ſtyle occupies the fundus of the calix, and becomes with it a dry fruit, truncated at the upper extremity, and divided longitudinally into two half-pods full of ſeeds, and lined with a membranous expanſion.

This tree grows upon the ſlope of mountains. The only precious part of it is the bark, known by its febrifuge qualities, and which requires no other preparation than that of drying. The thickeſt was preferred, till repeated analyſes and experiments had ſhown, that the thinneſt poſſeſſed moſt virtue.

The inhabitants diſtinguiſh three ſpecies, or rather three varieties of bark. The yellow and the red, which are in equal eſtimation, and differ only in the depth of their colour; and the white, which being of a much inferior quality, is not in great requeſt. It is diſtinguiſhed by its leaf being leſs ſmooth and rounder, its flower whiter, its ſeed larger, and its bark white on the outſide. The bark of the good ſpecies is generally brown, brittle, and rough on its ſurface, with cracks upon it.

Upon the borders of the river Maragnon, the country of Jaën furniſhes a great deal of white bark: but it was imagined, for a long time, that the yellow and the red were found nowhere but upon the territory of Loxa, a town founded in 1546 by Captain Alonzo de Mercadillo. The moſt eſteemed was that which grew at the diſtance of two leagues from this place, upon the mountain of Cajanuma; and no longer than fifty years ago, the merchants uſed to endeavour to prove

by certificates, that the bark which they ſold came from that celebrated ſpot. In endeavouring to increaſe the quantity collected, the old trees were deſtroyed, and the new ones were not ſuffered to come to their complete growth; ſo that the talleſt of them are at preſent ſcarce three toiſes high. This ſcarcity occaſioned the trees to be ſearched for in other places. At length the ſame tree was diſcovered at Riobamba, at Cuença, in the neighbourhood of Loxa, and ſtill more recently at Bogota in the New Kingdom.

The bark was known at Rome in 1639. The Jeſuits, who had brought it there, diſtributed it gratis to the poor, and ſold it at an exorbitant price to the rich. The year following, John de Vega, phyſician to a vice-queen of Peru, who had experienced the ſalutary effects of it, eſtabliſhed it in Spain at a hundred crowns a pound [12l. 10s.]. This remedy ſoon acquired great reputation, which it maintained till the inhabitants of Loxa, not being able to ſupply the demands that were made on them, thought of mixing other barks with that for which there was ſo much demand. This fraud diminiſhed the confidence that had been placed in the bark. The meaſures taken by the court of Madrid to remedy ſo dangerous an impoſition, were not entirely ſucceſsful. The late diſcoveries have been more effectual than authority, in putting a ſtop to this adulteration. Accordingly, the uſe of the remedy hath become more general, eſpecially in England.

It is a generally received opinion, that the natives of the country were very anciently acquainted with the bark, and that they had recourſe to its virtues in intermittent fevers. It was ſimply infuſed in water, and the liquor given to the patient to drink, free of the reſiduum. M. Joſeph de Juſſieu taught them to make the extract from it, the uſe of which is much preferable to that of the bark in kind.

This botaniſt, the moſt intelligent of thoſe whom their zeal for the improvement of natural hiſtory hath carried into the Spaniſh poſſeſſions in the New World, had formed a much more extenſive plan. He went

over moſt of the mountains of South America with incredible fatigues, and was juſt going to enrich Europe with the valuable diſcoveries he had made, when his papers were ſtolen from him. An excellent memory might partly have repaired this misfortune; but he was alſo deprived of this reſource. There was great want of a phyſician and an engineer in Peru. M. de Juſſieu poſſeſſed all the knowledge which theſe two profeſſions required, and the government of the country called upon him to employ his talents in this double capacity. Theſe new employments were accompanied with ſo many contradictions, ſo much diſguſt and ingratitude, that this excellent man could not bear up againſt them. His mind was totally deranged, when, in 1771, he was embarked, without fortune, for a country which he had quitted ſix-and-thirty years. Neither the government which had ſent him to the other hemiſphere, nor that which had detained him there, condeſcended to take any care of his future deſtiny; which would indeed have been deplorable, had it not been for the tenderneſs of a brother, as reſpectable for his virtues as celebrated for his knowledge. The worthy nephews of M. Bernard de Juſſieu have inherited their uncle's attention to this unfortunate traveller, who died in 1779. May this conduct of a family, whoſe name is illuſtrious in the ſciences, ſerve as a model to all thoſe who, either for their happineſs or their misfortune, apply themſelves to the cultivation of literature!

M. Joſeph de Juſſieu, who found that the people had received with docility the inſtructions he had given them reſpecting the bark, endeavoured alſo to perſuade them to improve, by conſtant and regular attention, the wild cochineal which the country itſelf ſupplied their manufactures with, and the coarſe cinnamon which they drew from Quixos and Macas: but his advice hath hitherto had no effect, whether it be that theſe productions have not been found ſuſceptible of any improvement, or whether no pains have been taken to bring it about.

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The laſt conjecture will appear the moſt probable to thoſe who have a proper idea of the maſters of the country. Still more generally than the other Spaniſh Americans, they live in a ſtate of idleneſs from which nothing can rouſe them, and in debaucheries which no motive can interrupt. Theſe manners are more particularly the manners of the perſons, whoſe reſidence, from birth, employments, or fortune, is fixed in the city of Quito, the capital of the province, and very agreeably built upon the declivity of the celebrated mountain of Pitchincha. Fifty thouſand Meſtees, Indians, or negroes, allured by theſe ſeducing examples, alſo infeſt this ſpot with their vices, and in particular carry their paſſion for rum, and for gaming, to an exceſs that is unknown in the other great cities of the New World.

Digreſſion upon the formation of mountains.

But, in order to relieve our imagination from ſuch a number of diſtreſſing pictures, which, perhaps, have too much engaged our attention, let us for a moment quit theſe bloody ſcenes, and let us enter into Peru, fixing our contemplation upon thoſe frightful mountains, where learned and bold aſtronomers went to meaſure the figure of the earth. Let us indulge ourſelves in thoſe ſenſations which they undoubtedly experienced, and which every traveller, learned or ignorant, muſt experience, wherever nature preſents him with ſuch a ſcene. Let us even be allowed to throw out ſome general conjectures reſpecting the formation of mountains.

At the ſight of thoſe enormous maſſes, which riſe to ſuch prodigious heights above the humble ſurface of the earth, where almoſt all mankind have fixed their reſidence; of thoſe maſſes, which on one ſpot are crowned with impenetrable and ancient foreſts, that have never reſounded with the ſtroke of the hatchet, and which preſent, on another, nothing more than a barren and dreary ſurface; which in one country reign in ſedate and ſilent majeſty, that ſtops the cloud in its courſe, and breaks the impetuoſity of the wind; while in another, they keep the traveller at a

diftance from their fummits by ramparts of ice that furround them, from the centre of which volleys of flame iffue forth; or frighten him who attempts to afcend them, with horrid and concealed caverns digged on each fide: maffes, feveral of which give vent to impetuous torrents defcending with dreadful noife from their open fides, or to rivers, ftreams, fountains, and boiling fprings; all of them fpreading their refrefhing fhade over the plains that furround them, and affording them a fucceffive fhelter againft the heat of the fun, from the moment that luminary gilds their tops at the time of its rifing, till that of its fetting: at this afpect, I fay, every man is fixt with aftonifhment, and the inquirer into nature is led into reflections.

He afks himfelf, who it is that hath given birth here to Vefuvius, to Ætna, to the Appenines, and here to the Cordeleirias? Thefe mountains, are they as old as the world, have they been produced in an inftant, or is the ftony particle that is detached from them more ancient than they are? Can they be the bones of a fkeleton, of which the other terreftrial fubftances are the flefh? Are they diftinct maffes; or do they hold together by one great common trunk, of which they are fo many branches, and which ferves as a foundation to themfelves, and as a bafis for every thing that covers them?

If we agree with one philofopher: "The centre of "the earth being occupied by an immenfe refervoir of "waters, the fubftance that contained them fuddenly "burft. The cataracts of the fky were immediately "opened, and the whole globe was confounded and "funk under water. The fabulous account of chaos "was renewed; and the earth did not begin to extri-"cate itfelf from this ftate, till the time when the dif-"ferent materials precipitated, according to the laws "of gravity, by which they were fucceffively impel-"led; the layers of thefe feveral heterogeneous fub-"ftances were heaped one upon another, and raifed "their fummits above the furface of the waters, which "went to dig a bed for themfelves in the plains."

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Another philofopher obferves: "That thefe caufes "are infufficient to explain this phenomenon, without "the intervention and approach of a comet, which he "calls forth from the vaft regions of fpace where "thefe bodies lofe themfelves. The column of wa-"ters, he fays, which this comet drew along with it, "was joined by thofe which rofe from the fubterra-"nean abyfs, and thofe which defcended from the at-"mofphere. The action of the comet made them rife "above the higheft mountains, which were already "exifting; and from the fediment of this deluge they "were reproduced."

A third writer treats all thefe opinions as idle dreams, and fays: "Let us caft our eyes around us, "and we fhall fee the mountains rifing from the very "element that deftroys them. It is fire which hardens "the foft layers of the earth; it is that which, affift-"ed in its expanfion by air and by water, throws "them up, and drives their fummits into the clouds; "it is that which burfts them, and forms their im-"menfe caldrons. Every mountain is a volcano, "which is either preparing, or hath ceafed."

Thefe opinions are again contradicted by a moft eloquent modern writer, the charms of whofe language, while I liften to it, fcarce leave me at liberty to judge of his opinion. He fays: "In the beginning "there were no mountains. The furface of the globe "was uniformly covered with waters, which were not, "however, in a ftate of reft. The action of the fatel-"lite that accompanies the earth agitated them, even "to their greateft depth, with the motion of ebb and "flow which we now fee impreffed upon them. At "each ofcillatory motion, thefe waters dragged along "with them a portion of fediment, which they depo-"fited upon a preceding portion. It is upon thefe de-"pofits, continued through a long feries of ages, that "the layers of the earth have been formed; and the "enormous maffes that aftonifh us, are thefe layers "accumulated. Time is nothing to nature; and the "flighteft caufe, acting uninterruptedly, is capable of

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" producing the greateſt effects. The imperceptible " and continued action of the waters hath therefore " formed the mountains; and it is the ſtill more im- " perceptible, and not leſs continued, action of a va- " pour that ſoftens them, and of a wind that dries " them up, which lowers them from day to day, and " will at length reduce them to a level with the " plains. Then the waters will again be ſpread uni- " formly over the equal ſurface of the earth. Then " the firſt phenomenon will be renewed; and who " knows how often the mountains have been deſtroy- " ed and reproduced?"

At theſe words the obſerver Lehmann ſmiles, and, preſenting to me the book of the Jewiſh Legiſlator, together with his own, ſays to me: " Reſpect this " book, and condeſcend to caſt thine eyes upon mine." Lehmann hath explained, in his third volume of his Art of Mines, his ideas upon the formation of the layers of the earth, and upon the productions of mountains. His ſyſtem is founded on conſtant and repeated obſervations made by himſelf, with a very uncommon degree of ſagacity, and with a labour, the aſſiduity of which we can ſcarce conceive. They comprehend the ſpace from the frontiers of Poland to the borders of the Rhine. The analogy which renders them applicable to ſeveral other regions, recommends the knowledge of them to men who are ſtudious of natural hiſtory; and although he attributes the formation of the layers of the earth to a deluge, the facts with which he ſupports his arguments are not the leſs certain, nor his diſcoveries the leſs intereſting.

He diſtinguiſhes three kinds of mountains. The antediluvian, or primitive; the poſtdiluvian, and the modern. The firſt, which are of different elevation, are the higheſt. They are ſeldom found diſtinct, but are uſually formed into chains. The declivity of them is ſteep. They are ſurrounded on all ſides by the poſtdiluvian mountains, or ſuch as are compoſed of layers. The ſubſtance of them is more homogeneous; the portions of them leſs different; their beds are always

BOOK VII. perpendicular, and thicker. Their roots defcend to a depth which is ftill unknown. The ores they contain run in the longitudinal direction of the mountain. Thofe in the poftdiluvian mountains are difpofed in layers, which are formed of different fubftances. The laft of thefe, or that which is at the bafis, is always of coal. The firft, or that which is neareft the fummit, always furnifhes falt fprings. The mountains never fail to terminate in the former. They fupply copper, lead, quickfilver, iron, and even filver, but in leaves, and capillaceous. But they would deceive our avidity, if we expected to find gold in them. The mountains which produce this metal are the work of a deluge.

The modern mountains, produced by fire, by water, and by an infinite number of various and recent accidents, exhibit, in their internal parts, nothing but broken layers, a confufed mixture of all kinds of fubftances, and all the marks of fubverfion and diforder.

It is in vain that nature had concealed the precious metals in the midft of thefe hard and moft compact maffes: our cupidity hath broken them. This circumftance, however, would not call for our cenfure, if we could fay of the men employed in thefe dreadful labours, what we read of them in Caffiodorus: "They "go down poor into the mines, and come out of them "wealthy. They enjoy a kind of riches which no "man dares to take away from them. They are the "only perfons whofe fortune is neither fullied by ra-"pine or meannefs."

Europeans, reflect upon what this judicious writer adds: "To acquire gold by facrificing men, is a crime. "To go in fearch of it acrofs the perils of the fea, is "a folly. To amafs it by corruption and vices, is "bafe. The only profits that are juft and honeft, are "thofe that are acquired without injury to any per-"fon; and we never can poffefs, without remorfe, "what we have obtained at the expence of other "men's happinefs."

And you, in order to have gold, you have gone

acroſs the ſeas. In order to have gold, you have invaded other countries. In order to have gold, you have maſſacred the greateſt part of the inhabitants. In order to have gold, you have precipitated into the bowels of the earth thoſe whom your daggers had ſpared. In order to have gold, you have introduced upon the earth the infamous trade of mankind and ſlavery. In order to have gold, you repeat the ſame crimes every day. May the chimerical idea of Lazarro Moro be realized; and may ſubterraneous flames ſet on fire at once all thoſe mountains of which you have made ſo many dungeons, where innocence expires, for ſeveral ages paſt!

Natural organization of Peru, properly ſo called.

This curſe would firſt fall upon the Cordeleirias, or Andes, which cut almoſt the whole of America through its length, and the different branches of which extend themſelves irregularly in its breadth. It is particularly under the Line, and at Peru, that theſe mountains awe us by their majeſtic appearance. Through the enormous heaps of ſnow that cover the moſt conſiderable of them, it may eaſily be diſcerned that they formerly were volcanos. The clouds of ſmoke, and guſts of flame, which ſtill iſſue from ſome of them, cannot allow us to have the leaſt doubt reſpecting the eruptions. Chimboraco, the higheſt of them, and which is near three thouſand two hundred and twenty toiſes above the level of the ſea, is more than one third higher than the Peak of Teneriff, the loftieſt mountain of the ancient hemiſphere. The Pitchincha and the Caraçon, which have principally ſerved for taking the obſervations upon the figure of the earth, have only two thouſand four hundred and thirty, and two thouſand four hundred and ſeventy toiſes; and it is, however, at this height, that the moſt intrepid travellers have been obliged to ſtop. Eternal ſnows have hitherto rendered ſummits of greater height inacceſſible.

A plain, which is from thirty to fifty leagues in breadth, and is raiſed one thouſand nine hundred and forty-nine toiſes above the level of the ocean, ſerves

BOOK VII. as the bafis to thefe aftonifhing mountains. Part of this vaft fpace is occupied by lakes more or lefs confiderable. That of Titicaca, which receives ten or twelve large rivers, and feveral fmall ones, is feventy toifes in depth, and fourfcore leagues in circumference. In the midft of it there rifes an ifland, where the legiflators of Peru pretended to have received their birth. They owed it, as they faid, to the Sun, who had prefcribed to them to eftablifh his worfhip, to raife mankind from a ftate of barbarifm, and to give them beneficent laws. This fable rendered the fpot venerable; and one of the moft auguft temples in the empire was conftructed upon it. Pilgrims reforted to it in crowds from the provinces, with offerings of gold, filver, and jewels. It is a tradition generally received in the country, that, at the arrival of the Spaniards, the priefts and the inhabitants threw all thefe riches into the waters, as they had before done at Cufco, in another lake, fix leagues to the fouth of that celebrated capital. From moft of the lakes there are torrents iffuing; which, in procefs of time, have digged ravines of a tremendous depth. At the fummit of them the mines are ufually found in a foil generally arid. It is a little below this that the corn grows, and the cattle feed: in the bottom, the fugar, the fruits, and the maize, are cultivated.

The coaft, which is of an immenfe length, and from eight to twenty leagues in breadth, which extends from the plain we have been fpeaking of to the fea, and which is known to us by the name of the Valleys, is nothing but a heap of fand. Solitude and eternal barrennefs feem as if they were intended to belong to this ungrateful foil.

Nature varies, and in a very remarkable manner, in this uneven territory. The moft elevated places are perpetually covered with fnow. After this come the rocks and naked fands. Beneath thefe fome moffes begin to fhow themfelves. Lower down is the Icho, a plant which they burn, fomewhat refembling rufhes; and which grows longer and ftronger in proportion as

one defcends. At length the trees make their appearance, to the number of three fpecies, particular to thefe mountains; and which, all of them, announce, in their ftructure and their foliage, the feverity of the climate that produces them. The moft ufeful of thefe trees is the caffis. It is weighty, hath fome fubftance, and is lafting; and thefe qualities have occafioned it to be deftined to the labours of the mines. Thefe large vegetable productions are not to be met with under a milder fky, and they are only replaced by a fmall number of others of a different quality. There would not even be any one fpecies in the valleys, if fome had not been conveyed there, which have become naturalized.

Circumftances in which the mountains, plains, and valleys of Peru differ from each other.

In this region, the air hath an evident influence upon the conftitution of the inhabitants. Thofe of the moft elevated diftricts are fubject to afthmas, pleurifies, to pulmonary complaints, and to rheumatifms. Thefe difeafes, which are dangerous to all individuals that are feized with them, are commonly mortal to any one that hath contracted venereal maladies, or is addicted to ftrong liquors; and this is unfortunately the ufual ftate of thofe who are born in thefe climates, or have been led into them by avarice.

Thefe calamities do not affect the inferior mountains; but other fcourges, ftill more fatal, are fubftituted to them. Putrid and intermittent fevers, unknown in the countries we have been mentioning, are habitual there. They are fo eafily caught, that travellers are afraid to come near the places that are infected with them. They are frequently fo contagious, that not a fingle man would efcape the infection, if the inhabitants did not abandon their villages, in order to return to them again when a frefh feafon hath purified them. It was not thus in the time of the Incas. But fince the Spaniards have introduced the fugar canes into the narrow gorges of the mountains, where the air circulates with difficulty, there arife, from the moiftened foil which this cultivation requires, infec-

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The tertian, and other intermittent fevers, are ſcarce leſs common or leſs obſtinate in the valleys than in the gorges of the mountains: but they are infinitely leſs dangerous: they are ſeldom attended with fatal conſequences, except in the country places where no helps are to be had, and where precautions are neglected.

Another general malady in this part of the New World, is the ſmall-pox, which was brought there in 1588. It is not habitual, as in Europe; but it occaſions, at intervals, inexpreſſible ravages. It attacks, indifferently, the white men, the Negroes, the Indians, and the mixed races. It is equally deſtructive in all the climates. Much advantage is to be expected from the practice of inoculation, introduced two years ſince at Lima, and which will undoubtedly ſoon become general.

There is another ſcourge prevailing here, againſt which human invention will never find a remedy. Earthquakes, which in other countries are ſo rare, that whole generations frequently ſucceed each other without beholding one, are ſo common in Peru, that they have there contracted an habit of reckoning them as a ſeries of epochas, ſo much the more memorable, as their frequent return does not diminiſh their violence.

This phenomenon, which is ever irregular in its ſudden returns, is, however, announced by very perceptible omens. When the ſhock is conſiderable, it is preceded by a murmur in the air, the noiſe of which is like that of heavy rain falling from a cloud that ſuddenly burſts and diſcharges its waters. This noiſe ſeems to be the effect of a vibration of the air, which is agitated in different directions. The birds are then obſerved to dart in their flight. Neither their tails nor their wings ſerve them any longer as oars and helm to ſwim in the fluid of the ſkies. They daſh themſelves in pieces againſt the walls, the trees, and

the rocks; whether it be that this vertigo of nature dazzles and confuses them, or that the vapours of the earth take away their ſtrength and power to command their movements.

To this tumult in the air is added the rumbling of the earth, the cavities and deep receſſes of which re-echo each other's noiſes. The dogs anſwer theſe previous tokens of a general diſorder of nature, by howling in an extraordinary manner. The animals ſtop, and, by a natural inſtinct, ſpread out their legs that they may not fall. Upon theſe indications, the inhabitants inſtantly run out of their houſes, and fly to ſearch, in the encloſures of public places, or in the fields, an aſylum from the fall of their roofs. The cries of children, the lamentations of women, the ſudden darkneſs of an unexpected night; every thing combines to aggravate the too real evils of a dire calamity, which ſubverts every thing, by the excruciating tortures of the imagination, which is diſtreſſed and confounded, and loſes, in the contemplation of this diſorder, the thought and courage to remedy it.

The diverſity of aſpects under which volcanos have preſented themſelves to one of our moſt indefatigable and intelligent obſervers, hath pointed out to him different periods, ſeparated from each other by intervals of time ſo conſiderable, that the firſt formation of our planet is thrown back by them to a degree of antiquity at which our imagination is ſtartled. At the firſt of theſe periods, the volcanos throw out from their ſummits fire, ſmoke, and aſhes, and pour out torrents of lava from their ſides that are laid open. At the ſecond, they are all of them extinguiſhed, and exhibit nothing but an immenſe caldron. At the third, the air, the rain, the wind, the cold, and the lime, have deſtroyed the caldron, or crater, and nothing but a hillock remains. At the fourth period, this hillock, deprived of its covering, diſcovers a kind of nidus, which, being deſtroyed by time, leaves nothing but the place where the mountain and volcano have exiſted; and this ſtate conſtitutes a fifth period. From the

BOOK VII. centre of this place causeways of lava are extended to a distance; and these causeways, whether entire or broken, or reduced into separate fragments, are still as many other periods, between each of which we may insert as many years, as many ages, or as many thousands of ages as we choose. One thing, however, is certain, that one of these periods, whichever of them we may choose, is not connected, in the memory of man, with that which succeeds it in the course of nature. The principle, therefore, that from nothing nothing can be produced; and the destruction of beings, which, by being changed into others, show us that nothing is annihilated, seem to announce an eternity which hath preceded, an eternity which will follow, and the co-existence of the Great Architect with his wonderful work.

The climate exhibits some very remarkable singularities in the Upper Peru. The inhabitants experience on the same day, sometimes in the same hour, and always in a very short space of time, the temperature of the two opposite zones. Those who come there from the valleys, are pierced on their arrival with severe cold, which they cannot get the better of either by fire, by motion, or by adding to their clothing; but the impression of which ceases to be disagreeable, after a residence of a month or three weeks. The voyagers who come there for the first time, are tormented with the symptoms of sea sickness, with more or less violence, in proportion as they have suffered from it on the ocean. But, whatever may be the reason of it, men are not exposed to this accident in all parts; for not one of the astronomers who measured the figure of the earth upon the mountains of Quito, were attacked with it.

Our astonishment is equally, if not more, excited in the valleys. This country, though very near the equator, enjoys a delicious temperature. The four seasons of the year are evidently marked, and yet neither of them can be called troublesome. The winter season is the most sensibly felt. This hath been attempted to

be accounted for from the winds of the fouth pole, which carry the effects of the fnows and ice over which they have paffed. They preferve it only in part, becaufe they blow under the influence of a thick fog, which at that time covers the earth. Thefe grofs vapours do not indeed rife regularly till about noon; but it is feldom they are diffipated. The fun generally remains fo much clouded, that its rays, which fometimes make their appearance, can only mitigate the cold in a very flight degree.

Whatever may be the caufe of fo conftant a winter under the torrid zone, it is certain that it never rains, or that it rains only every two or three years, in the Lower Peru.

Natural philofophy hath exerted its efforts to difcover the caufe of a phenomenon fo extraordinary. May it not be attributed to the fouth-weft wind, which prevails there the greateft part of the year; and to the prodigious height of the mountains, the fummit of which is covered with eternal ice?

The country fituated between both, being continually cooled on one fide, and continually heated on the other, maintains fo equal a temperature, that the clouds which rife can never be condenfed fo far as to be diffolved into water.

Rains, however, and even daily rains, would be neceffary to communicate fome degree of fertility to the coafts which extend from Tumbez to Lima, that is, throughout a fpace of two hundred and fixty-four leagues. The fands are in general fo barren, that there is not a fingle herb to be feen, except in parts which it is poffible to water, and thefe do not often occur. There is not a fingle fpring throughout the whole of Lower Peru; rivers are not frequent there; and thofe which we do meet with have, for the moft part, water in them only for fix or feven months in the year. They are torrents iffuing from the lakes, of greater or lefs magnitude, that are formed in the Cordeleirias, which only flow over a fmall fpace, and are dried up during the fummer. In the times of the Incas, thefe

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precious waters were carefully collected, and, by the assistance of several canals, dispersed over a large surface; which they fertilized. The Spaniards have availed themselves of these labours. Their villages and towns have been erected on the places where the huts for the Indians were, which, perhaps for this reason, were less numerous in the Lower Peru than on the mountains. The valleys which lead from the capital of the empire to Chili, have a great resemblance with those we have spoken of; but they are in some places more susceptible of cultivation.

The few Peruvians who have escaped the sword or tyranny of the conquerors, are fallen into the most degraded and brutal state.

Notwithstanding these defects of natural organization, the region we have been describing hath seen a flourishing empire arise in the midst of it. Its population cannot reasonably be called in question, when we behold self-evident proofs that this happy people had covered with their colonies all the provinces that they had conquered; when we attend to the astonishing number of men engaged in the service of government, and deriving their subsistence from the state. Such a variety of hands and levers employed in moving the political machine, necessarily imply a considerable degree of population, that may be enabled to maintain, with the productions of the earth, a very numerous class of the inhabitants, who are not themselves concerned in agriculture.

By what fatality, then, hath it happened that Peru is now such a desert? By tracing things to their origin, we find that those who conquered the coast of the South Sea, being ruffians, without birth, education, and principle, originally committed greater enormities than the conquerors of Mexico. The mother-country was a longer time before she checked their ferocity, which was continually fomented by those long and cruel civil wars that succeeded the conquest. A more heavy and regular system of oppression was afterwards established than had prevailed in the other countries of the New World less distant from Europe.

Universal discouragement was the necessary consequence of this abominable conduct. Accordingly, the

natives of the country grew disgusted of the state of society, and of the fatigues it brings along with it. They continue in the same disagreeable dispositions, and would not even give themselves the least trouble to cultivate subsistence for themselves, were they not compelled to it by the government. This compulsion influences their behaviour. All the inhabitants of one community, men, women, and children, unite themselves to till and sow a field. These labours, which are interrupted every instant by dancing and feasting, are carried on by the sound of various instruments. The harvest of the maize, and of the other grain, is gathered with the same carelessness, and accompanied with the same pleasures. These people are not more anxious to procure themselves clothes. In vain hath it been attempted to inspire them with better dispositions, and more suitable to the good of the empire. Authority hath been unavailing against customs which its tyranny had given rise to, and which were kept up by its injustice.

The Peruvians, all of them without exception, are an instance of that profound stupidity into which it is in the power of tyranny to plunge men. They are fallen into a listless and universal indifference. Can it be possible that these people should have any kind of attachment, whose religion once elevated the soul, and from whom the most abject slavery hath taken away every sentiment of greatness and glory? The riches, which nature hath scattered at their feet, do not tempt them; and they are even insensible to honours. They are whatever one chooses, without any ill humour, or choice, vassals or caciques, or *mitayos*, the objects of distinction or of public derision. The spring of all their passions is broken. That of fear itself hath often no effect on them, through the little attachment they have to life. They intoxicate themselves, and dance; these are all the pleasures they have, when they are able to forget their misery. Indolence is their predominant habit. *I am not hungry*, they say to the person who would pay them for their labour.

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The void that had been made in the population of Peru, and the indolence of the few men that remained there, determined the conquerors to introduce a foreign race; but this mode of ſubſtitution, which was dictated by the refinement of European barbarity, was more prejudicial to Africa than uſeful to the country of the Incas. Avarice did not derive from theſe new ſlaves all the advantages it had flattered itſelf with. The government, ever intent on laying taxes upon vices and virtues, upon induſtry and idleneſs, upon good and bad projects, upon the liberty of exerciſing oppreſſions, and the permiſſion of being exempted from them, made a monopoly of this baſe traffic. It was neceſſary to receive the Negroes from the hands of a rival or an enemy, to carry them to the place of their deſtination, through immenſe ſeas and unwholeſome climates, and to defray the expences of ſeveral very dear markets. Nevertheleſs, this ſpecies of men hath multiplied more at Peru than at Mexico. There is alſo a much greater number of Spaniards there, for the following reaſons:

At the time when the firſt conqueſts were made, when emigrations were moſt frequent, the country of the Incas had a much greater reputation for riches than New Spain; and, in reality, for half a century, much more conſiderable treaſures were brought away from it. The deſire of partaking of them muſt neceſſarily draw thither, as was really the caſe, a greater number of Caſtilians. Though they almoſt all went over there with the hope of returning to their country to enjoy the fortune they might acquire, yet the majority of them ſettled in the colony. They were induced to this by the ſoftneſs of the climate, and the goodneſs of the proviſions. They alſo ſuppoſed they ſhould enjoy a great ſhare of independence in a region ſo remote from the mother-country.

Preſent ſtate of Peru.

We muſt now examine to what degree of proſperity Peru hath been raiſed by the united labours of ſo many different people.

The immenſe coaſt that extends from Panama to

Tombez, and which, in 1718, was detached from Peru to be incorporated in the New Kingdom, is one of the moſt miſerable regions of the globe. A great part of it is occupied by ſpacious and numerous moraſſes. The part that is not covered with theſe is deluged for ſix months in the year with rains that fall down in torrents. From the midſt of theſe ſtagnating and unwholeſome waters foreſts ariſe, that are as ancient as the world, and ſo much choked up with *lianes*, or oſiers, that the ſtrongeſt and moſt intrepid man cannot penetrate into them. Thick and frequent fogs throw a dark veil over theſe hideous countries. None of the productions of the Old Hemiſphere can grow in this ungrateful ſoil, and thoſe even of the New Hemiſphere do not thrive much. And, indeed, there is but a ſmall number of ſavages to be ſeen here, and thoſe for the moſt part wandering; and ſo few Spaniards, that it might almoſt be ſaid there were none. The coaſt is fortunately terminated by the Gulf of Guayaquil, where nature is in a leſs degenerate ſtate.

The ſecond town which the Spaniards built in Peru was raiſed upon this river, in 1533. The Indians did not long ſuffer this monument, erected againſt their liberty, to ſubſiſt; but it was rebuilt four years after by Orellana. It was not placed in the Bay of Charopte as it had been at firſt. The back of a mountain, at the diſtance of five or ſix hundred toiſes from the river, was preferred. The exigencies of commerce afterwards determined the merchants to fix their dwellings upon the ſide of the river itſelf. The ſpace which ſeparated them from their former habitation hath been gradually filled up; ſo that at preſent the two quarters of the town are entirely united. The houſes are in general built of wood, both in the lower and in the upper town. Formerly they were all covered with thatch; but this practice hath been aboliſhed gradually by the orders of government, who have thought this regulation neceſſary, to prevent the accidents of fire, ſo common in theſe countries. Guayaquil was lately an entirely open place. It is at preſent defend-

BOOK VII. ed by three forts, guarded only by the inhabitants. These are large beams disposed in palisades. Upon this soil, which is always damp, and under water a great part of the year, a sort of wood, which never rots, is preferable to the best constructed works either in earth or in stone.

It is a circumstance well known at present, that, on the coast of Guayaquil, as well as on that of Guatimala, are found those snails which yield the purple dye so celebrated by the ancients, and which the moderns have supposed to have been lost. The shell that contains them is fixed to rocks that are watered by the sea. It is of the size of a large nut. The juice may be extracted from the animal in two ways. Some persons kill the animal after they have taken it out of the shell; they then press it from the head to the tail with a knife; and, separating from the body that part in which the liquor is collected, they throw away the rest. When this operation, repeated upon several of the snails, hath yielded a certain quantity of the juice, the thread that is to be dyed is dipped in it, and the business is done. The colour, which is at first as white as milk, becomes afterwards green, and does not turn purple till the thread is dry.

Those who do not choose this method, draw the animal partly out of its shell, and by pressure oblige it to discharge its liquor. This operation is repeated four different times, but at each time with less advantage. If it be continued, the animal dies, from the loss of that fluid which was the principle of its life, and which it hath no longer the power to renew.

We know of no colour that can be compared to the one we have been speaking of, either in lustre or in permanency. It succeeds better with cotton than with woollen, linen, or silk.

It is little more than an object of curiosity; but Guayaquil supplies the neighbouring provinces with oxen, mules, salt, and fish. It furnishes a great quantity of cacao to Mexico and to Europe. It is the universal dock-yard of the South Sea, and might partly

become that of the mother-country. We know of no ſpot upon the earth more abundant in wood for maſts and for ſhip-building. The hemp and the pitch, which it is deſtitute of, is procured from Chili and from Guatimala.

This town is the neceſſary ſtaple of all the trade which the Lower Peru, Panama, and Mexico, keep up with the country of Quito. All the commodities which theſe countries exchange paſs through the hands of its merchants. The largeſt of the ſhips ſtop at the iſland of Puna, ſix or ſeven leagues diſtant from the place. The others can go thirty-five leagues up the river, as far as Caracol.

Notwithſtanding theſe ſeveral means of proſperity, Guayaquil, the population of which conſiſts of twenty thouſand ſouls, is far from being wealthy. The fortunes of its inhabitants have been ſucceſſively deſtroyed nine times, by fires, and by pirates, who have twice ſacked the town. Thoſe fortunes which have been acquired ſince theſe fatal periods, have not continued in the country. A climate where the heat is intolerable the whole year, and the rains inceſſant for ſix months; where dangerous and noiſome inſects do not allow any tranquillity; where diſtempers, prevailing in the moſt oppoſite degrees of temperature, appear to be united; where one lives in perpetual dread of loſing one's ſight: ſuch a climate is by no means proper to fix the reſidence of its inhabitants. Such perſons are only ſeen here as have not acquired ſufficient wealth to enable them to remove elſewhere, and ſpend their days in indolence and pleaſure.

On quitting the territory of Guayaquil, we enter into the valleys of Peru. They occupy four hundred leagues of the coaſt; and upon this extent there are a great number of bad harbours, among which chance hath placed one or two that are tolerably good. Throughout this vaſt ſpace, there is not the veſtige of a ſingle road; and it is neceſſary to travel over it upon mules in the night-time, becauſe the reverberation of the ſun renders theſe ſands unpaſſable in the day.

BOOK VII. At the intervals of thirty or forty leagues, we find the ſmall towns of Piura, of Peyta, of Santa, of Piſco, of Naſcar, of Ica, of Moquequa, and of Arica, and in the intermediate ſpace a ſmall number of hamlets and villages. Throughout this whole extent there are but three places worthy of being called towns; Truxillo, which hath nine thouſand inhabitants; Arequipa, which hath forty thouſand; and Lima, which hath fifty-four thouſand. Theſe ſeveral ſettlements have been formed wherever there was the leaſt appearance of land fit for cultivation, and wherever the waters were capable of fertilizing a ſlime naturally barren.

The country produces the fruits peculiar to the climate, and moſt of thoſe in Europe. The culture of maize, of pimento, and of cotton, which was found eſtabliſhed there, was not neglected: and that of wheat, barley, caſſava, potatoes, ſugar, and of the olive and vine, was ſet on foot there. The goat hath thriven very well; but the ſheep have degenerated, and their wool is extremely coarſe. Throughout the whole of the valleys there is but one mine, which is that of Huantajaha.

In the Upper Peru, at the diſtance of one hundred and twenty leagues from the ſea, ſtands Cuſco, built by the firſt of the Incas, on a very uneven territory, and upon the declivity of ſeveral hills. It was at firſt only a ſmall village, which in proceſs of time became a conſiderable city, divided into as many quarters as there were nations incorporated with the empire. Each of theſe nations were allowed to follow their ancient cuſtoms; but they were all of them obliged to worſhip the brilliant conſtellation that fertilizes the globe. There was no edifice that had any grandeur, elegance, or convenience, becauſe the people were ignorant of the firſt elements of architecture. Even the temple of the ſun itſelf could not be diſtinguiſhed from the other public or private buildings, unleſs by its extent, and by the profuſion of metals with which it was ornamented.

To the north of this capital was a kind of citadel,

built with much care, labour, and expence. The Spaniards long ſpoke of this monument of Peruvian induſtry with a ſpirit of admiration that impoſed upon all Europe. The ruins of this fortreſs have been ſeen by enlightened perſons, and the marvellous hath diſappeared. It hath been found, that this fortification had ſcarce any advantage over the other works of the ſame kind erected in the country, except that of being built with ſtones of a more conſiderable ſize.

At the diſtance of four leagues from the city are the country-houſes of the great, and of the Incas, in the wholeſome and delicious valley of Yucai. There it was that they went to recover their health, or to relax from the fatigues of government.

After the conqueſt, the place ſcarce preſerved any thing but its name. There were other edifices, other inhabitants, other occupations, other manners, other prejudices, and another religion. Thus the fatality which ſubverts the earth, the ſea, empires, and nations; which throws ſucceſſively upon all parts of the globe the light of the arts and the darkneſs of ignorance; which changes the reſidence of men, and transfers their opinions from one place to another, as marine productions are puſhed upon the coaſt by the impulſe of the winds and the currents: that impenetrable and ſingular deſtiny, I ſay, ordained that Europeans, with all the appendages of their crimes, and monks, with all the prejudices of their faith, ſhould come to reign and repoſe in thoſe walls, where the virtuous Incas had for ſo long a time promoted the felicity of mankind, and where the ſun was ſo ſolemnly adored. Who, therefore, can foreſee what kind of race, or form of worſhip, will one day ariſe upon the ruins of our kingdoms and our altars? Cuſco reckons twenty-ſix thouſand inhabitants under its new maſters.

In the midſt of theſe mountains other towns are ſtill to be ſeen. Chupuiſaca, or La Plata, which hath thirteen thouſand ſouls; Potoſi, twenty-five thouſand; Oropeſa, ſeventeen thouſand; La Paz, twenty thou-

BOOK VII. ſand; Guancavelica, eight thouſand; and Huamanga, eighteen thouſand five hundred.

But let it be well obſerved, that none of theſe towns were erected in regions which preſented a fertile ſoil, copious harveſts, excellent paſtures, a mild and ſalubrious climate, and all the conveniences of life. Theſe places, which had hitherto been ſo well cultivated by a numerous and flouriſhing people, were now totally diſregarded. Very ſoon they exhibited only a deplorable picture of a horrid deſert; and this wildneſs muſt have been more melancholy and hideous than the dreary aſpect of the earth before the origin of ſocieties. The ſight of confuſion is not always diſpleaſing; it ſometimes aſtoniſhes: that of deſtruction afflicts us. The traveller, who was led by accident or curioſity into theſe deſolate plains, could not forbear abhorring the barbarous and bloody authors of theſe devaſtations, while he reflected that it was not owing even to the cruel illuſions of glory, and to the fanaticiſm of conqueſt, but to the ſtupid and abject deſire of gold, that they had ſacrificed ſo much more real treaſure, and ſo numerous a population.

This inſatiable thirſt of gold, which neither attended to ſubſiſtence, ſafety, nor policy, was the only motive for eſtabliſhing new ſettlements, ſome of which have been kept up, while ſeveral have decayed, and others have been formed in their ſtead. The fate of them all hath correſponded with the diſcovery, progreſs, or decay of the mines to which they were ſubordinate.

Fewer errors have been committed in the means of procuring proviſions. The natives had hitherto lived ſcarcely on any thing elſe but maize, fruits, and pulſe, for which they had uſed no other ſeaſoning except ſalt and pimento. Their liquors, which were made from different roots, were more diverſified; of theſe the *chica* was the moſt uſual; it is made from maize ſoaked in water, and taken out of the veſſel when it begins to ſprout. It is dried in the ſun, then parched a little, and at laſt ground. The flour, after it

has been well kneaded, is put with water into large pitchers. The fermentation may be expected in two or three days, and must not continue longer. The great inconvenience of this drink, which, when used immoderately, infallibly intoxicates, is, that it will not keep more than seven or eight days without turning sour. Its taste is nearly that of the most indifferent kind of cyder.

All the cultivations established in the empire, were solely intended to supply articles of primary necessity. The only thing cultivated for luxury was the coca; this is a shrub which ramifies much, and seldom grows higher than three or four feet. Its leaves are alternate, oval, entire, and marked in their longitudinal direction with three costæ, two of which are not very apparent. The flowers collected in clusters along the stems, are small, composed of a calix, with five divisions, and five petals, furnished at their base with a scale. The pistil, surrounded with ten stamina, and surmounted with three stiles, is changed into a small, reddish, oblong berry, which as it dries becomes triangular, and contains one nut filled with a single kernel.

The leaf of the coca was the delight of the Peruvians. They chewed it, after having mixed it with an earth of a light grey colour, and of a saponaceous quality, which they called *Toura*; it was, in their opinion, one of the most salutary restoratives they could take. Their taste for the coca hath so little altered, that, if those among them who are buried in the mines were to be deprived of it, they would cease to work, whatever severities might be employed to compel them to it.

The conquerors were not satisfied either with the liquors or with the food of the people they had subdued. They naturalized freely, and with success, all the corn, all the fruits, and all the quadrupeds of the ancient hemisphere, in the new one. The mother-country, which had proposed to supply its colonies with wine, oil, and brandy, wished, at first, to forbid the culture

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of the vine and of the olive tree: but it was ſoon found, that it would be impoſſible to convey regularly to Peru articles liable to ſo many accidents, and of ſo conſiderable a bulk; and they were permitted to multiply them there as much as was conſiſtent with the climate and their wants.

After they had provided for a better and a greater choice of ſubſiſtence, the next care of the Spaniards was to have a dreſs more commodious and more agreeable than that of the Peruvians. Theſe were, however, better clothed than any other American nation. They owed this ſuperiority to the advantage which they alone poſſeſſed, of having the lama and the pacos, domeſtic animals, which ſerve them for this uſe.

Singularities reſpecting the lama, the pacos, the guanco, and the vicuna.

The lama is an animal four feet high, and five or ſix in length; of which its neck alone takes up one half. Its head is well made, with large eyes, a long ſnout, and thick lips. Its mouth hath no inciſors in the upper jaw. Its feet are cloven like thoſe of the ox, but furniſhed with a ſpur behind, which enables it to faſten itſelf on the ſides of ſteep places, where it delights to climb. Its wool, which is ſhort on its back, but grows long on its ſides and under the belly, conſtitutes part of its uſefulneſs. Though very ſalacious, theſe animals copulate with great difficulty. In vain the female proſtitutes herſelf to receive the male, and invites him by her ſighs; they are ſometimes a whole day groaning, grumbling, and ineffectually attempting enjoyment, if men do not help them to fulfil the deſire of nature. Thus ſeveral of our domeſtic animals, that are confined, broken, forced, and reſtrained in all their freeſt motions and ſenſations, loſe, through ineffectual efforts, the principles of generation while they are confined in ſtables, if care and attention do not ſupply the place of that liberty of which they have been deprived. The females of the lama have only two dugs, never more than two young, commonly but one, which follows the dam immediately after its birth; it is of a very quick growth, and its life of a ſhort du-

ration. At three years old it propagates its ſpecies, preſerves its vigour till twelve, then decays, and dies about the age of fifteen.

The lamas are employed as mules, in carrying on their backs loads of about a hundred weight. They move with a ſlow but firm pace at the rate of four or five leagues a-day, in countries that are impracticable to other animals; deſcending through gullies, and climbing up rocks, where men cannot follow them. After four or five days journey, they reſt of their own accord for twenty-four hours.

Nature hath formed them for the people of that climate where they are produced, mild, regular, and phlegmatic, like the Peruvians. When they ſtop, they bend their knees and ſtoop their body in ſuch a manner as not to diſcompoſe their burden. As ſoon as they hear their driver whiſtle, they riſe with the ſame care, and proceed on their journey. They browſe on the graſs they find in their way, and chew the cud at night, even when aſleep, reclining on their breaſt, with their feet doubled under their belly. They are neither diſpirited by faſting nor drudgery, while they have any ſtrength remaining; but when they are totally exhauſted or fall under their burden, it is to no purpoſe to haraſs and beat them: they will continue obſtinately ſtriking their heads againſt the ground, till they kill themſelves. They never defend themſelves either with their feet or their teeth; and in the height of their indignation content themſelves with only ſpitting in the face of thoſe who inſult them.

The pacos is to the lama what the aſs is to the horſe, a ſubordinate ſpecies, ſmaller in ſize, with ſhorter legs, and a flat ſnout; but of the ſame diſpoſition, the ſame manners, and the ſame conſtitution, as the lama; made, like the lama, to carry burdens, but more obſtinate in its caprices, perhaps becauſe it is weaker.

Theſe animals are ſo much the more uſeful to man, as their ſervice coſts him nothing. Their thick fur ſupplies the place of a pack-ſaddle. The little graſs which they find along the road ſuffices for their food,

BOOK VII. and furnifhes them with a plentiful and frefh faliva, which exempts them from the neceffity of drinking.

In the times of the Incas, the people fhowed a great attachment to thefe ufeful animals, and this fpirit of benevolence hath been continued. Before they are employed in the labours for which they are adapted, the Peruvians affemble their relations, friends, and neighbours. As foon as the company are met, dancing and feftivals begin, which laft two days and two nights. From time to time the guefts pay a vifit to the lamas and the pacos, fpeak to them in the moft affectionate terms, and beftow upon them all the careffes they would upon the perfon that was moft dear to them. They then begin to make ufe of them, but do not ftrip them of the ribbands and bands with which their heads are ornamented.

Among the lamas, there are fome of a wild fpecies called guanacos, which are ftronger, more fprightly, and more nimble, than the domeftic lamas; running like the ftag, and climbing like the wild goat, covered with fhort wool, and of a fawn colour. Though free, they like to collect in herds, to the number fometimes of two or three hundred. If they fee a man, they furvey him at firft with an air of greater aftonifhment than curiofity; then fnuffing up the air and neighing, they run all together to the fummit of the mountains. Thefe animals feek the North, travel on the ice, and fix themfelves above the height of the fnow; they are vigorous, and appear in vaft numbers on the tops of the Cordeleras; but fmall in fize, and feldom met with at the bottom of the mountains. When they are hunted for their fleece, if they gain the rocks, neither hunters nor dogs can ever catch them.

The vicunas, a fpecies of wild pacos, delight ftill more in the cold, and on the fummits of mountains. They are fo timid, that their fear itfelf makes them an eafy prey to the hunter. Men furround them and drive them into narrow defiles, at the end of which

they have fuſpended pieces of cloth or linen, on cords, that are raiſed three or four feet from the ground. Theſe rags, being agitated by the wind, ſtrike ſuch terror into them that they ſtand crowded and ſqueezed one againſt another, ſuffering themſelves to be killed rather than fly. But if there happens to be, among the vicunas, a guanaco, which, being more adventurous, leaps over the cords, they follow it and eſcape.

All theſe animals belong ſo peculiarly to South America, and eſpecially to the higheſt Cordeleras, that they are never ſeen on the ſide of Mexico, where the height of theſe mountains is conſiderably diminiſhed. Attempts have been made to propagate the breed in Europe, but they have all failed. The Spaniards, without reflecting that theſe animals, even in Peru itſelf, ſought the coldeſt parts, have tranſported them to the burning plains of Andaluſia. They might poſſibly have ſucceeded on the Alps or the Pyrenees. This conjecture of M. de Buffon, to whom we are indebted for ſo many uſeful and profound obſervations on animals, is worthy the attention of ſtateſmen, whoſe ſteps ought always to be guided by the lights of philoſophy.

The fleſh of the lamas and pacos may be eaten when they are young. The ſkin of the old ones ſerves the Indians for ſhoes, and the Spaniards for harneſs. The guanacos may alſo ſerve for food. But the vicunas are only ſought after for their fleece, and for the bezoar they produce.

The wool of theſe animals is not equally good. That of the lama and the pacos, which are domeſtic animals, is much inferior to that of the guanaco, and ſtill more to that of the vicuna. There is even a great difference in the ſame animal. The wool of the back is commonly of a clear, light colour, and of moderate quality; under the belly it is white and fine, and white and coarſe upon the thighs. Its price, in Spain, is from four to nine livres [from 3s. 4d. to 4s. 2d.] a pound, according to its quality.

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These fleeces were usefully employed at Peru, before the empire had submitted to a foreign yoke. The inhabitants of Cusco made tapestry of them for the use of the court. This tapestry was ornamented with flowers, birds, and trees, which were tolerably well imitated. It served also to make mantles which were worn over a shirt of cotton. It was customary to tuck them up, in order to have the arms free. The principal people fastened them with gold and silver clasps; their wives with pins made of these metals, ornamented at the top with emeralds; and the common people with thorns. In hot countries, the mantles of persons in office were made of fine cotton, and dyed with various colours. The common people in the same climate had no clothing at all, except a girdle that was composed of the filaments of the bark of a tree, and served to cover those parts which nature intended should be concealed.

The pride and the habits of the conquerors, which generally made inconvenient or contemptible to them all the customs established in the countries upon which their avarice or their fury was exerted, would not allow them to adopt the dress of the Peruvians. They required from Europe every thing that country could furnish most complete and most magnificent in linens and cottons. In process of time, the treasures that had been at first pillaged, were exhausted; and it was not possible to acquire more, without making considerable advances, and without entering upon labours, the profit of which was doubtful. Then these extravagancies diminished. The ancient manufactures of cotton, which a system of oppression had reduced almost to nothing, were revived. Others were set on foot of a different kind; and their number hath successively increased.

With the wool of the vicuna they make, in several provinces, stockings, handkerchiefs, and scarfs. This wool, mixed with that of the sheep imported thither from Europe, which hath exceedingly degenerated, serves for carpets, and makes also tolerably good cloth.

This laſt kind alone is employed to make ſerges and other coarſe ſtuffs. BOOK VII.

The manufactures ſubſervient to luxury are eſtabliſhed at Arequipa, Cuſco, and Lima. From theſe three large towns come all the jewels and diamonds, all the plate for the uſe of private perſons, and alſo for the churches. Theſe manufactures are but coarſely wrought, and mixed with a great deal of copper. There is ſeldom more taſte or perfection diſcovered in their gold, ſilver, and other laces and embroideries, which their manufactures alſo produce.

Other hands are employed in gilding leather, in making, with wood and ivory, pieces of inlaid work and ſculpture, and in drawing figures on the marble that hath been lately found at Cuença, or on linen imported from the Old Hemiſphere. Theſe productions of imperfect art ſerve for ornaments for houſes, palaces, and temples: the drawing of them is not abſolutely bad, but the colours are neither exact nor permanent. This ſpecies of induſtry belongs almoſt excluſively to the Indians ſettled at Cuſco, who are leſs oppreſſed, and leſs degenerated upon this firſt ſcene of their glory, than throughout the reſt of the empire. If theſe Americans, to whom nature hath denied the genius of invention, but who are excellent imitators, had been ſupplied with able maſters and excellent models, they would have become good copyiſts. At the cloſe of the laſt century, ſome works of a Peruvian painter, named Michael de St. Jaques, were brought to Rome; and the connoiſſeurs diſcovered marks of genius in them.

Theſe deſcriptions excite the complaints of ſome of my readers. I hear them ſay, How can we be intereſted in theſe idle details, with which you have troubled us ſo long? Speak to us of the gold and of the ſilver of Peru. In this ſo diſtant region of the New World, *I have never conſidered, and ſhall never conſider, any thing but theſe metals*. Whoever thou mayeſt be that doſt addreſs thyſelf to me in this manner, avaricious mortal, and deſtitute of taſte, who, when con-

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veyed to Mexico and Peru, wouldſt neither ſtudy the manners nor the cuſtoms, who wouldſt diſdain to caſt a look upon the rivers, the mountains, the foreſts, the fields, the diverſity of climate, and the varieties of fiſh and inſects; but who wouldſt only aſk, where are the golden mines? where are the places in which the gold is wrought? I ſee that thou haſt entered upon the reading of my work with the ſame ſpirit as the ferocious Europeans entered upon theſe rich and unhappy countries; I ſee that thou wert worthy to accompany them, becauſe thy propenſities are the ſame as theirs. Deſcend then into the mines, and meet with thy deſtruction by the ſide of thoſe who work them for thee; and if thou doſt come out of them again, make thyſelf at leaſt acquainted with the criminal ſource of theſe fatal treaſures which thou doſt covet; and mayeſt thou never poſſeſs them hereafter without feeling the pangs of remorſe. May the gold change its colour, and appear to thine eyes as if it were dyed with blood.

Deſcription of the mines of Peru, and particularly thoſe of platina and quickſilver.

In the country of the Incas are found mines of copper, tin, ſulphur, and bitumen, which are generally neglected. Extreme neceſſity hath occaſioned ſome attention to be paid to thoſe of ſalt. This foſſil is cut into large pieces, proportioned to the ſtrength of the lamas and pacos, deſtined to convey it in all the provinces of the empire diſtant from the ocean. This ſalt is of a violet colour, and is ſtreaked with veins of red like the jaſper. It is ſold neither by weight nor meaſure, but in pieces nearly of equal ſize.

A new ſubſtance has been diſcovered lately in theſe regions: this is the platina, ſo called from the Spaniſh word *plata*, from whence the diminutive *platina*, or little ſilver, is made.

This is a metallic ſubſtance, which hath hitherto been brought from the New World into the Old, only in the form of ſmall, pointed, triangular, and very irregular gravel, like the coarſe filings of iron. Its colour is that of a white between that of ſilver and iron, partaking a little of the tenacity of lead.

M. Ulloa is the firſt who has ſpoken of the platina, in the account he publiſhed, in 1748, of a long voyage to Peru, from whence he was juſt returned. He informed Europe that this extraordinary ſubſtance, and which may be conſidered as an eighth metal, came from the gold mines of America, and was particularly found in thoſe of the new kingdom.

The year following, Wood, an Engliſh metallurgiſt, brought ſome ſpecimens of it from Jamaica to Great Britain. He had received them eight or nine years before from Carthagena, and was the firſt perſon who made experiments upon them.

Some very ſkilful chemiſts have ſince employed themſelves in experiments and inquiries upon the platina; in England, Mr. Lewis; in Sweden, M. Scheffer; in Pruſſia, M. Margraff; and in France, M. M. Macquer, Beaumé, De Buffon, De Morveau, De Sickengen, and De Milly. The united labours of theſe ſeveral chemiſts have ſo much improved our knowledge upon this article, that we do not ſcruple to ſay, there are few metallic ſubſtances, the nature of which is better known to us at preſent than the platina. That which comes into France is never entirely pure. It is uſually mixed with rather a conſiderable quantity of ſmall black ſand, which is as ſtrongly affected by the loadſtone as the beſt iron, but which is indiſſoluble in acids, and cannot be melted without great difficulty; and laſtly, particles of very fine gold are ſometimes obſerved in it.

This mixture, which is almoſt always found, of the native platina with gold and with iron, had raiſed a ſuſpicion that it might be nothing more than a combination of theſe two metals; and accordingly, on melting together gold and iron, or rather gold and magnetic ſand, ſimilar to that which is found mixed with the platina, a combination is obtained, which hath ſome apparent affinities with this metallic ſubſtance: but a more ſtrict examination ſeems to have deſtroyed this opinion, and the experiments of M. M. Macquer and Beaumé, and particularly thoſe of M. le

BOOK VII. Baron de Sickengen, appear to have ſhown that the platina is a peculiar kind of metal, which is not form-ed by the union of any other, and which hath proper-ties belonging to itſelf.

The little information which chemiſts have hitherto obtained reſpecting the natural hiſtory of the platina, and the ſmall quantity they have had in their poſſeſ-ſion, hath not yet allowed them to apply the proceſſes of metallurgy to it at large; but the methods they have given an account of, and particularly thoſe for which we are indebted to the Baron de Sickengen, are ſufficient for chemical accuracy. Nothing remains now but to make them more ſimple and leſs expenſive.

The firſt operation to be performed on the platina conſiſts in ſeparating from it the gold, the iron, and the magnetic ſand, with which it is united. In order to do this, it is diſſolved with the aſſiſtance of a little heat, in an aqua regia, compoſed nearly of equal parts of the nitrous and marine acid. The magnetic ſand, which is indiſſoluble, remains at the bottom of the veſ-ſel; and, by pouring off the liquor, a ſolution is ob-tained, which contains gold, iron, and platina. To ſeparate, in the firſt inſtance, the gold, a ſmall portion of the vitriolum martis is added to the ſolution. The gold immediately precipitates, while the platina con-tinues united to the ſolvent. Laſtly, to get rid of the iron, ſome alkali, which hath been previouſly calcined with ox's blood, is poured *guttatim* into the ſame li-quor. The iron is inſtantly precipitated, under the colour of Pruſſian blue, and nothing more remains in the ſolution than the platina, perfectly pure, and com-bined with the aqua regia.

The platina being thus purified, the next buſineſs is to ſeparate it from the ſolvent; and this is to be done by the addition of ſal ammoniac. This ſubſtance pre-cipitates the platina under a yellow colour; and this precipitate being expoſed to a great heat, ſoftens, and even diſſolves; and, by forging it with a hammer, the platina is obtained very pure and malleable. It ap-pears from what we have been able to collect from the

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Baron de Sickengen's Memoir, which hath been communicated to the Academy of Sciences, but not yet publiſhed, that the rough platina, worked by itſelf, and heated with an intenſe fire, becomes ſufficiently ſoft to be forged and made into bars; and this circumſtance naturally indicates the method to be purſued for the management of it in large works.

The metal obtained by theſe ſeveral proceſſes is nearly of the ſame ſpecific weight as gold; it is of an intermediate colour between that of iron and ſilver; it can be forged and extended into thin plates; it may alſo be worked into thread; but it is not near ſo ductile as gold; and the thread obtained from it is not, in equal diameter, able to ſupport ſo great a weight without breaking. When diſſolved in aqua regia, it may be made to aſſume, by precipitation, an infinite diverſity of colours; and Count Milly hath ſucceeded in varying theſe precipitates ſo much, that he hath had a picture painted, in the colouring of which there is ſcarce any thing but platina made uſe of.

Gold is ſuſceptible of combination with all the metals, and platina hath in like manner this property; but when too great a proportion of it enters into the combination, it renders the metal brittle. When allied with yellow copper, it forms a hard and compact metal, which will take the fineſt poliſh, which will not tarniſh in the air, and which would conſequently be very fit for making the mirrors of teleſcopes.

It doth not appear that mercury hath any effect upon platina; and therefore Mr. Lewis had propoſed to amalgamate it with mercury, as a proper method of ſeparating it from the gold with which it might have been united; but this method hath been conſidered by modern chemiſts as uncertain and defective; and there are others at preſent more to be depended upon: ſuch are thoſe we have been mentioning at the commencement of this article.

This new metal diſplays ſome properties infinitely intereſting to ſociety. It cannot be affected by any ſimple acid, nor by any known ſolvent, except the

BOOK VII. aqua regia; it will not tarniſh in the air, neither will it ruſt; it unites to the fixedneſs of gold, and to the property it hath of not being ſuſceptible of deſtruction, a hardneſs almoſt equal to that of iron, and a much greater difficulty of fuſion. In a word, from conſidering the advantages of the platina, we cannot but conclude, that this metal deſerves, at leaſt, from its ſuperiority to all others, to ſhare the title of king of the metals, of which gold hath ſo long been in poſſeſſion.

It were undoubtedly to be wiſhed that a metal ſo precious might become common, and that it might be employed for culinary utenſils, in the arts, and in the laboratory of the chemiſt. It would unite all the advantages of veſſels of glaſs, of porcelain, and of ſtone ware, without partaking of their fragility. A prejudice of the Spaniſh miniſtry, and which hath for a long time been adopted by all chemiſts, deprives us of this advantage. They have perſuaded themſelves that the platina might be allied with gold in ſuch a manner as that it could not be ſeparated from it by any means, and they have conſequently thought proper to forbid the extraction and tranſportation of a ſubſtance that might be productive of ſo much miſchief in the hands of avaricious men. But at preſent, that we are acquainted with methods as ſimple and eaſy to ſeparate gold from platina, as to ſeparate ſilver from gold; at preſent, that the chemiſts have taught us, that, when theſe two metals are diſſolved in aqua regia, we may precipitate the gold by the addition of the vitriolum martis, or the platina by the addition of ſal ammoniac, and that in both theſe caſes the two metals are perfectly diſtinct; at preſent, in a word, that the rulers of nations can eaſily obtain information by conſulting the academies, it cannot be doubted but that the Spaniſh government will haſten to avail itſelf of a treaſure, of which it ſeems hitherto to have been the only poſſeſſor, and of which ſo advantageous a uſe may be made for the nation and for ſociety in general.

Nature hath not formed any mines of gold or ſilver

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in what are called the Valleys of Peru, except one. The large maſſes of theſe precious metals which we ſometimes find there, have been conveyed by ſubterraneous fires, by volcanos, and by earthquakes, as well as by the revolutions which America hath experienced, and doth ſtill experience every day. Theſe detached maſſes are ſometimes found in other parts. About the year 1730, a piece of gold, weighing ninety marks, was found near the town of La Paz. It was a compoſition of ſix different ſpecies of this precious metal, from eighteen to three and twenty carats and a half. There are but few ores, and thoſe of baſe alloy, in the hillocks bordering upon the ſea. It is only in very cold or very high places that they are rich and frequent.

Though the Peruvians were unacquainted with coin, they knew the uſe of gold and ſilver, of which they made toys and even vaſes. The torrents and rivers furniſhed them with the firſt of theſe metals; but, in order to obtain the ſecond, more labour and induſtry was neceſſary. Moſt frequently the ground was opened, yet never to ſo great a depth but that the workmen themſelves could throw the ore on the borders of the ditch which they had digged, or could at leaſt convey it there by paſſing it on from one perſon to another. Sometimes the ſides of the mountains were opened, and the different veins which chance might preſent were followed, though always to very ſmall extent. The two metals were melted and diſengaged from the foreign materials that might be mixed with them by the means of fire. Furnaces, in which a current of air ſupplied the office of the bellows, an inſtrument entirely unknown in theſe countries, were employed to perform this difficult operation.

Porco, at a little diſtance from the ſpot where one of the lieutenants of Pizarro founded, in 1539, the city of La Plata, Porco was, of all the mines which the Incas cauſed to be worked, the moſt plentiful and the moſt known. It was alſo the firſt which the Spaniards

BOOK VII. worked after the conqueſt; and their labour was ſoon extended to a multiplicity of others.

All of them, without exception, were found to be very expenſive in the working. Nature hath placed them in regions deſtitute of water, wood, proviſions, and all the neceſſaries of life, which muſt be conveyed at a great expence acroſs immenſe deſerts. Theſe difficulties have been, and are ſtill, ſurmounted with more or leſs ſucceſs.

Several mines, which have acquired ſome ſhare of reputation, have been ſucceſſively abandoned. Their produce, though equal to what it was originally, was not ſufficient to defray the expences neceſſary to obtain it: this is a kind of revolution which many of the reſt will experience.

It hath alſo been neceſſary to renounce ſome of the mines which had given falſe hopes. Among this number was that of Ucantaya, diſcovered in 1703, ſixty leagues to the ſouth-eaſt of Cuſco. This was only an incruſtation of almoſt maſſive ſilver, which at firſt yielded a conſiderable quantity, but was ſoon exhauſted.

Some very rich mines have been neglected, becauſe the waters had invaded them. The declivity of the ſoil, which from the ſummit of the Cordeleirias runs continually ſhelving to the South Sea, muſt neceſſarily have rendered theſe events more common at Peru than in other places. This miſchief hath ſometimes been found irremediable; at other times it hath been repaired; moſt frequently it hath been perpetuated, for want of means, activity, or ſkill.

The gold mines were at firſt preferably attended to. Wiſe men ſoon determined in favour of the ſilver mines, which are generally more extenſive, more equal, and, conſequently, leſs deceitful. Several of the former, however, are ſtill worked. A tolerably regular ſeries of ſucceſs hath made thoſe of Lutixaca, of Araca, of Suches, of Caracava, of Lipoani, and of Cachabamba, to be conſidered as the richeſt.

Among the filver mines which, in our days, are the moft celebrated, we muft mention that of Huantajaha, which hath been worked forty or fifty years ago, at two leagues diftance from the fea, near the harbour of Iqueyqua. Upon digging five or fix feet in the plain, we often find detached maffes, which at firft might be taken only for a confufed mixture of gravel and fand, and which, upon trial, yield two-thirds of their weight in filver. Sometimes they are fo confiderable, that, in 1749, two of them were fent to the court of Spain, one of which weighed one hundred and feventy-five pounds, and the other three hundred and feventy. In the mountains, the ore is difpofed in veins, and is of two kinds. That which in the country is called *barra*, is cut with the rock, and is fent to Lima, where it is wrought. It yields moft frequently from one, two, three, four, and as far as five, parts of filver, to one of ftone. The other fpecies is purified by fire, in the country itfelf. If five of its quintals do not produce a mark of filver, it is thrown among the rubbifh. This neglect arifes from the exceffive dearnefs of provifions, from the neceffity of obtaining water fit for drinking fourteen leagues off, and from that of grinding the ore at a very confiderable diftance.

At thirty leagues to the north-eaft of Arequipa ftands Caylloma. Its mines were difcovered very early: they have been fince inceffantly worked, and their produce is ftill the fame.

Thofe of Potofi were difcovered in 1545. An Indian, named Hualpa, as it is faid, purfuing fome deer, in order to climb certain fteep rocks, laid hold of a bufh, the roots of which being loofened from the earth, brought to view an ingot of filver. The Peruvian had recourfe to it for his own ufe, and never failed to return to his treafure every time that his wants or his defires folicited him to it. The change that had happened in his fortune was remarked by his countryman Guanca, to whom he avowed the fecret. The two friends could not keep their counfel, and enjoy their good fortune. They quarrelled; and the indifcreet

BOOK VII. confidant difcovered the whole to his mafter Villaroell, a Spaniard who was fettled in the neighbourhood.

This difcovery foon inflamed the minds of the Spaniards. Several mines were immediately opened in a mountain of a conical form, which is one league in circumference, five or fix toifes in height, and is of a dark red colour. In procefs of time, a lefs confiderable mountain, iffuing from the former, was alfo fearched, and with equal fuccefs. The treafures that were derived from each of thefe mountains, were the origin of one of the largeft and moft opulent cities in the New World.

Nature never offered to the avidity of mankind, in any country on the globe, fuch rich mines as thofe of Potofi. Exclufive of what was not regiftered, and was fmuggled away, the fifth part, belonging to the government, from 1545 to 1564, amounted to 36,450,000 livres [1,518,075l.] *per annum*. But this abundance of metals foon decreafed. From 1564 to 1585, the annual fifth part amounted to no more than 15,187,489 livres 4 fols [632,812l. 1s.]. From 1585 to 1624, it amounted to 12,149,994 livres 12 fols [506,249l. 15s. 6d.]. From 1624 to 1633, to 6,074,997 livres 6 fols [253,124l. 17s. 9d.]. From this laft period, the produce of thefe mines hath fo evidently decreafed, that, in 1763, the fifth part, belonging to the king, did not exceed 1,364,682 livres 12 fols [56,861l. 15s. 9d.].

In the firft inftance, each quintal of ore yielded fifty pounds of filver. At prefent, fifty quintals do not produce more than two pounds of filver. This is one part inftead of twelve hundred and fifty.

If this diminution fhould be carried on a little further, this fource of riches muft neceffarily be given up. It is even probable, that this event would already have taken place, if the ore were not fo foft at Potofi, if the waters were not fo favourably fituated for grinding it, and if the expences were not infinitely lefs than at any other place.

But while the mines of Potofi were gradually l[illegible]ing

their celebrity, those of Oruro, not far distant from them, were rising into great reputation. Their prosperity was even increasing, when the waters flowed into the richest of them. At the period in which we are writing, it hath not yet been possible to drain them, and all these treasures still remain under water. The mines of Popo, the most considerable of those that have escaped this great disaster, are no more than twelve leagues distant from the town of San Philip de Austria de Gruro, which was built in this district, formerly so celebrated.

The labours of the miners, settled to the east of La Plata, in the district of Carangas, were never disturbed by any accident; those, however, whom chance had brought to Turco were constantly the most fortunate, because this mountain always afforded them an ore incorporated, or, as it were, melted with the stone, and consequently richer than all the rest.

In the diocese of La Paz, and near to the small town of Puna, Joseph Salcedo discovered, about the year 1660, the mine of Laycacota. It was so rich, that the silver of it was often cut with a chisel. Prosperity, which debases little minds, had so elevated that of the proprietor of so much opulence, that he permitted all the Spaniards who came to seek their fortune in this part of the New World, to work some days for their own benefit, without weighing or measuring the present he made them. This generosity attracted an infinite number of adventurers, whose avidity induced them to take up arms. They attacked each other; and their benefactor, who had neglected nothing that might prevent or extinguish their sanguinary contentions, was hanged as being the author of them. Such incidents might be sufficient to lessen in our hearts the inclination to benevolence; and it is with reluctance I have mentioned this.

While Salcedo was in prison, the water got possession of his mine. Superstition soon gave birth to the idea, that this was a punishment for the outrage committed against him. This idea of divine vengeance

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was for a long time revered; but at length, in 1 Diego de Baena, and some other enterprising men, sociated themselves, in order to turn away the springs which had deluged so much treasure. In 1754, the work was so far advanced, that some utility was already derived from it. We know not what hath happened since that period.

All the mines of Peru were originally worked by means of fire. In most of them, mercury was substituted to this in 1571.

This powerful agent is found in two different states in the bosom of the earth. If it be altogether pure, and in the fluid form which is proper to it, it is then denominated virgin mercury, because it hath not experienced the action of fire, in order to be extracted from the mine. If it be found combined with sulphur, it forms a substance of a red colour, which is more or less vivid, called cinnabar.

Till the mine of virgin mercury, which was lately discovered at Montpelier under the buildings of the town itself, and which for that reason will probably never be worked, there had been no others known in Europe, except those of Udria in Carniola. These are in a valley, at the foot of high mountains, which were called by the Romans *Alpes Juliæ*. They were discovered by chance in 1497. They are about nine hundred feet deep. The descent into them is by pits, as into all other mines. There are under ground an infinite number of galleries, of which some are so low, that it is necessary to stoop, in order to pass along; and there are places where it is so hot, that it is not possible to stop without being in a profuse sweat: it is in these subterraneous caverns that mercury is found, in a kind of clay, or in stones. Sometimes even this substance is seen running down like rain, and oozes so copiously through the rocks which form the vaults of these subterraneous caverns, that one man hath often gathered thirty-six pounds of it in a day.

There are some people so fond of the marvellous, that they prefer this mercury to the other; which is a

mere prejudice. Experience shows, that the best mercury that can be used, either in medicine or in metallurgy, is that which hath been extracted from cinnabar. In order to separate the natural combination of these two volatile substances, sulphur and mercury, recourse must necessarily be had to the action of fire, to which some intermediate substance must be joined. This is either the filings of steel or copper, or the regulus of antimony, or lime, or some fixed alkaline salt. Europe is supplied with this last species of mercury from Hungary, Sclavonia, Bohemia, Carinthia, Friuli, and Normandy. The quantity that Spain wants for Mexico comes from the mine of Almaden, which was famous even in the time of the Romans: but Peru hath found within itself, at Guança-Velica, a sufficient quantity for all its exigencies.

This ore, as it is said, was known to the ancient Peruvians, who made no other use of it than to paint their faces. It was forgotten during the confusion into which the conquest plunged this unfortunate region. It was found again in 1556, according to some historians, and in 1564, according to others; but Pedro Fernandez Velasco was the first who, in 1574, thought of employing it in working the other mines: the government reserved to itself the property of it. They even forbade, upon any pretence whatsoever, that other mines of the same kind should be opened, lest they should be defrauded of the duties they laid upon mercury.

The mine of Guança-Velica hath undergone several changes. At the time in which we are writing, its circumference measures one hundred and eighty varas, its diameter sixty, and its depth five hundred and thirteen. It hath four openings, all of them at the top of the mountain, a small number of buttresses, destined to support the soil, and three vent-holes, which either let in air, or serve to carry off the waters. It is worked by some partners, most of them without fortune, to whom the sovereign advances whatever they want, and who deliver the mercury to him at his stipulated

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price. The men employed in these labours were generally seized, formerly, with convulsive motions. This malady is at present much less frequent; whether it be, that the mercury contained in the mine hath lessened by more than one-half, or that some precautions have been taken, which had at first been neglected. Those who have the care of the furnaces, are at present almost the only persons who are exposed to this calamity: they are, however, easily cured. The only thing necessary is to send them into a warm climate, or to employ them in cultivating the lands. The mercury, which affected their limbs, is carried off by perspiration.

The barrenness of Guança-Velica, and of the neighbouring lands, is remarkable. No fruit tree can be naturalized there. Of all the species of corn that have been sown, barley is the only one that hath sprung up; and even that hath never come to maturity. Nothing but the potato has thriven.

The air is not more wholesome than the soil is fertile. Children, newly born, die of the tetanos still more frequently than in the rest of the New World. Those who have escaped this danger, are seized at the end of three or four months, with a violent cough, and most of them perish in convulsions, unless care be taken to convey them into a milder climate. This precaution, which is necessary for the Indians and for the Mestees, is still more so for the Spaniards, who are less robust. The extreme severity of the climate, the sulphureous vapours which cover the horizon, and the generally vitiated constitution of the fathers and mothers, must be the principal causes of so great a calamity.

The very elevated mountains of Guança-Velica had for a long time engaged the attention of men who are greedy of riches, when, at length, they became interesting to philosophers.

The astronomers who were sent in 1735 to Peru, in order to measure the degrees of the meridian, travelled over a space of ninety leagues, beginning a little to the

north of the equator, and proceeding as far as the south of the city of Cuenca, without discovering any mark which could lead them to think that these mountains, which were the highest in the universe, had been ever covered by the ocean. The banks of shells that were found out some time after at Chili, did not prove the contrary, because they were upon eminences of no more than fifty toises. But since Guança-Velica hath furnished recent and petrified shells, and both of them in very great quantity, it is necessary to retract, and give up all the consequences that had been deduced from this phenomenon.

It is not at Guança-Velica that the mercury is delivered to the public. The government sends it to the provinces where the mines are. The places where it is deposited are twelve in number. In 1763, Guança-Velica itself consumed one hundred and forty-two quintals; Taiya, two hundred and forty-seven; Pasca, seven hundred and twenty-nine; Truxillo, one hundred and thirty-one; Cusco, thirteen; La Plata, three hundred and sixty-nine; La Paz, thirty; Caylloma, three hundred and seventy-four; Caranjas, one hundred and fifty; Oruro, twelve hundred and sixty-four; and Potosi, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-two. This made, on the whole, five thousand two hundred and forty-one quintals.

Although the quality of the ore determines the greater or less consumption of the mercury, yet it is generally thought in the other hemisphere, where the art of metallurgy is very imperfect, that, upon the whole, the consumption of mercury is equal to the quantity of silver obtained from the mines. In this supposition, the twelve magazines which, from 1732 to 1763, delivered, one year with another, five thousand three hundred and four quintals eighteen pounds of mercury, should have received the same quantity of silver. Nevertheless, they received no more than two thousand two hundred and fifty. Therefore, two thousand seven hundred and fifty-four quintals eighteen pounds were secreted, in order to defraud the customs.

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Subverſion and re-building of Lima. Manners of this capital of Peru.

Lima hath always attracted the greateſt part of theſe riches, whether they have eſcaped the vigilance of the treaſury or not. This capital, built in 1535 by Francis Pizarro, and which hath ſince become ſo celebrated, is ſituated at two leagues from the ſea, in a delicious plain. The proſpect from it on one ſide extends over a tranquil ocean, on the other it ſtretches as far as the Cordeleirias. Its ſoil is nothing but a heap of flints, which the ſea hath undoubtedly in a ſeries of ages piled together, but they are covered with earth a foot below the ſurface, which the ſpring waters, that are every where found on digging, have brought from the mountains.

Sugar-canes, numberleſs olive trees, ſome vines, artificial meadows, paſtures full of ſalt which give meat an exquiſite taſte, ſmall grain appropriated to the feeding of fowls, fruit-trees of every kind, and certain other plantations, cover the ſurface of theſe fortunate plains. Wheat and barley proſpered there for a long time; but an earthquake happening about a century ago, cauſed ſuch a revolution, that the ſeeds rotted without ſprouting. It was not till after forty years of barrenneſs, that the ſoil reſumed its former fertility. Lima, as well as the other towns of the valleys, owes its ſubſiſtence chiefly to the labours of the negroes. It is ſcarce any where, except the inland parts, that the fields are cultivated by the Indians.

Before the arrival of the Spaniards, all the edifices in Peru were conſtructed without any foundations. The walls of the houſes of private perſons, as well as thoſe of the public buildings, were alike placed on the ſurface of the earth, of whatever materials they might be made. Experience had taught theſe people, that in the country they inhabited this was the only way of dwelling in ſecurity. Their conquerors, who had a ſovereign contempt for every thing which deviated from their habits, and who carried every where along with them their European cuſtoms, without conſidering whether they were ſuitable to the countries they were invading; the conquerors departed, particularly

at Lima, from the manner of building which they found generally eſtabliſhed. Accordingly, when the natives of the country ſaw them open deep trenches, and make uſe of cement, they ſaid that their tyrants were digging graves to bury themſelves in; and, perhaps, it was ſome conſolation to the wretchedneſs of the conquered to foreſee, that the earth would one day take upon itſelf to avenge them of their deſtroyers.

The prediction hath been fulfilled. The capital of Peru, after having been partially ſubverted by eleven earthquakes, was at length totally deſtroyed by the twelfth. On the 28th of October 1746, at half an hour after ten at night, all, or almoſt all the buildings, whether large or ſmall, were thrown down in the ſpace of three minutes. Thirteen hundred perſons were cruſhed under the ruins. A much more conſiderable number were mutilated; and moſt of them expired in horrid torments.

Callao, which ſerves as a harbour to Lima, was likewiſe overthrown; but this was the leaſt of its misfortunes. The ſea, which had ſtarted back with horror at the inſtant of this dreadful cataſtrophe, ſoon returned to invade with its impetuous waves the ſpace it had quitted. It ſwallowed up the few houſes and fortifications that had eſcaped the former danger. Of the four thouſand inhabitants that were computed to be in this celebrated port, there were only two hundred ſaved. It then contained three-and-twenty ſhips; nineteen of them were ſwallowed up, and the reſt thrown very far in upon the land by the irritated ocean.

The ravage extended itſelf all over the coaſt. The few veſſels there were in theſe bad harbours were ſhattered. The towns in the valleys ſuſtained in general ſome damages; ſeveral of them even were totally ſubverted. Among the mountains, four or five volcanos threw out ſuch prodigious columns of water, that the whole country was deluged by them.

The minds of men, which had been for a long time in a ſtate of lethargy, were rouſed by this fatal cala-

BOOK VII. mity; and it was Lima that firſt ſet the example of the change. The buſineſs was to clear away immenſe ruins heaped one upon another; and to get out prodigious treaſures that were buried in theſe ruins. It was neceſſary to bring from Guayaquil, and from a ſtill greater diſtance, every requiſite for the conſtruction of numberleſs edifices; and with all theſe materials, collected from theſe different regions, to raiſe a city ſuperior to that which had been deſtroyed. Theſe miracles, which were not to be expected from an indolent and effeminate people, were performed with great rapidity. Neceſſity inſpired them with activity, emulation, and induſtry. Lima, though, perhaps, leſs wealthy, is at preſent more agreeable than in 1682, when its gates preſented to the view of the Duke of Palata, the viceroy, on his entering, ſtreets paved with ſilver. It is alſo built with greater ſolidity, and for the following reaſon:

The vanity of having palaces, concealed for a long time from the inhabitants of the capital of Peru the dangers to which this abſurd oſtentation expoſed them. In vain had the earth ſwallowed up at different periods theſe enormous maſſes; the leſſon was never powerful enough to correct them. The laſt cataſtrophe hath at length opened their eyes. They have yielded to neceſſity, and have at laſt followed the example of other Spaniards ſettled in the valleys.

The houſes are at preſent very low, and have moſt of them no more than a ground-floor. For walls they have poſts placed at different diſtances. The intervals are filled up with reeds, nearly ſimilar to ours, but which have no cavity, which are very ſolid, which do not eaſily rot, and which are covered over with clay. Theſe ſingular edifices are topped with a wooden roof entirely flat, and alſo covered with clay, a ſufficient precaution in a climate where it never rains. The ſeveral parts of theſe buildings are faſtened together, and to the foundations with a ſtrong kind of oſier, which in the country is called chaglar. With this kind of conſtruction, the whole building readily yields to the mo-

tion communicated to it by the earthquakes. They may possibly be damaged by the convulsive motions of nature, but they cannot be easily thrown down.

These houses, however, are not deficient in appearance. The attention that is taken to paint the walls and cornices, so as to resemble free-stone, conceals the quality of the materials of which they are formed. They are even found to have an air of grandeur and solidity, which it would not be natural to expect. The defect of construction is still more concealed in the inside of the houses, where all the ornaments are painted in a style of greater or less elegance. The ordinary method of construction hath been but a little deviated from in the public buildings. Several of them are raised to the height of ten feet, with bricks baked in the sun; some of the churches even are raised to the same height in stone. The rest of these monuments are in wood, painted or gilt; as well as the columns and statues which decorate them.

The streets of Lima are wide, parallel, and intersect each other at right angles. Its walls are continually washed and refreshed by waters brought from the river of Rimac. The water that is not employed in this salutary purpose, is advantageously distributed for the convenience of the citizens, for the use of the gardens, and for fertilizing the fields.

The scourges of nature, which have revived industry to a certain degree in Lima, have had less influence on the manners of its inhabitants.

Superstition, which reigns throughout the whole extent of the Spanish dominions, hath at Peru two sceptres at its command; one of gold, for the usurping and triumphant nation; the other of iron, for the enslaved and pillaged inhabitants. The scapulary and the rosary are all the tokens of religion which the monks require of the Spaniards of Peru. It is on the form and colour of these kinds of talismans that the populace and the grandees found the prosperity of their undertakings, the success of their amorous intrigues, and the hopes of their salvation. The monkish habit,

BOOK VII. assumed in the last moments, constitutes the security of opulent people who have lived ill; they are convinced, that when wrapt in this clothing, which is so formidable to the devil, that avenging power of crimes will not dare to descend into their graves and seize upon their souls. If their ashes repose near the altar, they hope to partake of the sacrifices of the pontiffs, much more than the poor and the slaves.

Influenced by such fatal errors, what enormities will they not commit to acquire riches, which secure their happiness in this world and in the next? The vanity of immortalizing their name, and the promise of eternal life, secure to the monks a fortune, which can no longer be enjoyed; and families are disappointed of an inheritance, whether acquired by honesty or fraud, by legacies which serve to enrich men who have discovered the secret of escaping poverty by devoting themselves to it. Thus it is that the order of sentiments, ideas, and things, is subverted; and the children of opulent fathers are condemned to misery by the pious rapaciousness of a number of voluntary mendicants. The English, the Dutch, and the French, lose their national prejudices by travelling; the Spaniard carries his along with him throughout the whole universe; and such is the madness of bequeathing legacies to the church, that the ground of all the houses of Peru belongs to the priesthood, or pays them some share of rent. The institution of monkish orders hath done at Peru, what the law of the *Vacuf* will do, sooner or later, at Constantinople. Here the people bequeath their fortunes to a minaret, in order to secure it to their heirs; there they deprive an heir of it, by leaving it to a monastery from the dread of being damned. The motives are a little different, but in the end the effect is the same. In both countries the church is the gulf, in which all the riches are absorbed; and these Castilians, who were heretofore so formidable, shrink before superstition, as Asiatic slaves do in the presence of their despot.

These extravagances might induce one to suppose

these people totally stupid; but this would be an injustice. Since the beginning of the century, good books are common enough at Lima; the people are not entirely destitute of knowledge; and we may be allowed to say, that the French navigators, during the war for the succession, implanted some good principles among them. Nevertheless the ancient habits have lost but little of their force. The Spanish Creole lives constantly among courtezans, or amuses himself at home in drinking the herb of Paraguay. He would be afraid to diminish the joys of love by confining it within legitimate bonds. His inclination leads him to marry in the country behind the church, that is an expression, which signifies living in a state of concubinage. In vain do the bishops anathematize every year, at Easter, those persons who are united in these illicit bonds. But what power have these vain terrors against the impulse of amorous desires, against custom, and especially against the climate, which is continually struggling with, and at last proves victorious over all the civil and religious laws that oppose its influence?

The charms of the Peruvian women are superior to the terror which the spiritual arms of Rome inspire. The majority of them, especially the women of Lima, have eyes sparkling with vivacity, a fair skin, a complexion that is delicate, animated, full of sprightliness and life, and a slender and well-formed shape; a foot better turned and smaller than that of the Spanish women themselves; thick and black hair, flowing as if by chance, and without ornament, over their neck and shoulders; which are extremely white.

These various natural graces are heightened by every improvement that art can add to them. The clothing of the women is most sumptuous, and they use an unbounded profusion of pearls and diamonds in every kind of dress in which it is possible to introduce them. It is even looked upon as a sort of grandeur and dignity, to suffer these valuable articles to be mislaid or lost. A woman even who hath no titles, and is not ennobled, seldom appears in public without gold tissues,

BOOK VII. and without jewels. She never goes out without being attended by three or four ſlaves, moſt of them Mulatto women, in liveries as the men are, and adorned with lace as their miſtreſſes.

Perfumes are in general uſe at Lima. The women are never without amber; they ſcent their linen and their clothes with it, and even their noſegays, as if there were ſomething wanting to the natural perfume of flowers. The amber is undoubtedly an additional allurement to the men, and the flowers impart a new attraction to the women. With theſe they adorn their ſleeves, and ſometimes their hair like ſhepherdeſſes.

The taſte for muſic, which prevails throughout all Peru, is converted into a paſſion in the capital. The walls reſound with nothing but ſinging, and concerts of vocal and inſtrumental muſic. Balls are frequent. The people dance here with ſurpriſing lightneſs; but they neglect the graces of the arms, to attend to the agility of the feet, and eſpecially to the inflections of the body; as images of the true emotions of voluptuouſneſs.

Such are the pleaſures which the women, who are all dreſſed rather with elegance than modeſty, taſte and diffuſe at Lima. But it is particularly in thoſe delicious ſaloons where they receive company, that they appear ſeducing. There, careleſsly reclined on a couch, which is a foot and a half high, and five or ſix feet wide, and upon carpets and ſuperb cuſhions, they paſs their days in tranquillity and in delicious repoſe. The men who are admitted to their converſation, ſeat themſelves at ſome diſtance, unleſs their adorers, from greater intimacy, be permitted to come up to the couch, which is, as it were, the ſanctuary of worſhip and of the idol. Yet theſe goddeſſes chooſe rather to be affable than haughty; and, baniſhing ceremony, they play on the harp and guittar, and ſing and dance when they are deſired.

The moſt diſtinguiſhed citizens find in thoſe *majoraſcos*, or perpetual entails, tranſmitted to them by the firſt conquerors their anceſtors, a ſufficiency to anſwer

these profusions: but the landed estates have not been adequate to the expences of a great number even of very ancient families. Most of them have had recourse to trade. An employment so worthy of man, and which extends at once his activity, his knowledge, and his power, hath never appeared to them to derogate from their nobility; and the laws have given a sanction to a mode of thinking so rational and so useful. Their capitals, added to the remittances that are continually sent from the inland countries, have rendered Lima the centre of all the transactions which the provinces of Peru carry on, either among themselves, or with Mexico and Chili, and of the more important ones with the mother-country.

Panama was for a long time the channel of communication between Peru and Spain. Manner in which this trade was carried on.

The Straits of Magellan appeared the only open way to form this last connection. The length of the passage, the terror inspired by stormy and almost unknown seas, the fear of exciting the ambition of other nations, the impossibility of finding an asylum in case of unfortunate accidents, and other considerations, perhaps, turned the general views towards Panama.

This town, which had been the gate through which an entrance had been gained into Peru, had risen to great prosperity, when, in 1670, it was pillaged and burnt by pirates. It was rebuilt on a more advantageous spot, at the distance of four or five miles from the first, and of three leagues from the harbour of Perico, which is formed by a great number of islands, and sufficiently spacious to contain the most numerous fleets. It rules over the provinces of Panama, the Veraguas, and Darien, regions without inhabitants, without culture, and without riches, and which were decorated with the great name of the kingdom of Terra Firma, at a period when great expectations were entertained of their mines. Panama hath never furnished any thing to trade from its own produce, except pearls.

The pearl fishery is carried on in forty-three islands of the gulf. The greatest part of the inhabitants employ such of their Negroes in it as are good swimmers.

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These ſlaves plunge and replunge in the ſea in ſearch of pearls, till this exerciſe hath exhauſted their ſtrength or their ſpirits.

Every Negro is obliged to deliver a certain number of oyſters. Thoſe in which there are no pearls, or in which the pearl is not entirely formed, are not reckoned. What he is able to find beyond the ſtipulated obligation is conſidered as his indiſputable property: he may ſell it to whom he thinks proper, but commonly he cedes it to his maſter at a moderate price.

Sea monſters, which abound more about the iſlands where pearls are found than on the neighbouring coaſts, render this fiſhing dangerous. Some of theſe devour the divers in an inſtant. The manta fiſh, which derives its name from its figure, rolls them under its body, and ſuffocates them. In order to defend themſelves againſt ſuch enemies, every diver is armed with a poniard. The moment he perceives any of theſe voracious fiſh, he attacks them with precaution, wounds them, and drives them away. Notwithſtanding this, there are always ſome fiſhermen deſtroyed, and a great number crippled.

The pearls of Panama are commonly of a very fine water: ſome of them are even remarkable for their ſize and figure. Theſe were formerly ſold in Europe. Since art hath imitated them, and the paſſion for diamonds hath entirely ſuperſeded or diminiſhed the uſe of them, they are all carried to Peru.

This branch of trade hath, however, infinitely leſs contributed to give reputation to Panama than the advantage which it enjoyed of being the ſtaple of all the productions of the country of the Incas that are deſtined for the Old World. Theſe riches, which were brought hither by a ſmall fleet, were carried, ſome on mules, others by the river Chagre, to Porto Bello, that is ſituated on the northern coaſt of the iſthmus which ſeparates the two ſeas.

Though the ſituation of this town had been ſurveyed and approved by Columbus in 1502, it was not built till 1584, from the ruins of Nombre de Dios. It

is dispofed in the form of a crefcent, on the declivity of a mountain which furrounds the harbour. This celebrated harbour, which was formerly very well defended by forts, which Admiral Vernon deftroyed in 1740, feems to afford an entrance fix hundred toifes broad; but it is fo ftraitened by rocks that are near the furface of the water, that it is reduced to a very narrow canal. Veffels can only be towed into it, becaufe they always experience either contrary winds or a great calm. Here they enjoy perfect fecurity.

The intemperature of the climate of Porto Bello is fo notorious, that it hath been named the grave of the Spaniards. It hath been more than once neceffary to leave fhips here, becaufe all their crews had perifhed. The inhabitants themfelves do not live long, and have all a vitiated conftitution. It is rather a difgrace to refide here. Some Negroes and Mulattoes only are to be met with, with a fmall number of white people, fixed by the pofts they hold under government. The garrifon itfelf, though only confifting of a hundred and fifty men, doth not continue here more than three months at one time. Till the beginning of the prefent century no woman dared to lie-in here: fhe would have deemed it devoting both her child and herfelf to certain death. The plants that are tranfplanted into this fatal region, where the heat, the moifture, and the vapours are exceffive and continual, have never profpered. It is an eftablifhed opinion, that the domeftic animals of Europe, which have prodigioufly multiplied in all the parts of the New World, lofe their fruitfulnefs on coming to Porto Bello; and, if we may judge by the few that are now there, notwithftanding the abundance of paftures, we might be induced to believe that this opinion is not ill founded.

The badnefs of the climate prevented not Porto Bello from becoming at firft the centre of the moft extenfive commerce that ever exifted. While the riches of the New World arrived there, to be exchanged for the productions of the Old, the veffels that failed from Spain, known by the name of galleons,

came hither, laden with all the articles of neceſſity, convenience, and luxury, which could tempt the proprietors of the mines.

The deputies for tranſacting this commerce, on both ſides, regulated on board the admiral's ſhip the price of goods, under the inſpection of the commander of the ſquadron and of the governor of Panama. The eſtimate was not adjuſted by the intrinſic value of each article, but by its ſcarcity or plenty. The ability of the agents conſiſted in forming their combinations ſo judiciouſly, that the cargo imported from Europe ſhould abſorb all the treaſures that were come from Peru. It was regarded as a bad market, when there were found goods neglected for want of money, or money not laid out for want of goods. In this caſe only, the Spaniſh merchants were allowed to go and complete the ſale of their merchandiſe in the South Seas, and the Peruvian merchants were permitted to make remittances to the mother-country for their purchaſes.

As ſoon as the prices were ſettled, the traffic commenced. This was neither tedious nor difficult; it was carried on with the utmoſt frankneſs. Every thing was tranſacted with ſo much honeſty, that they never opened their cheſts of piaſtres, nor proved the contents of their bales. This reciprocal confidence was never deceived. There were found, more than once, ſacks of gold mixed among ſacks of ſilver, and articles which were not entered on the invoice. Theſe miſtakes were rectified before the departure of the ſhips, or on their return. There only happened, in 1654, an event which might have interrupted this confidence. It was found in Europe, that all the piaſtres that were received at the laſt fair had a fifth of alloy. The loſs was borne by the Spaniſh merchants; but, as the coiners of Lima were known to be the authors of this fraud, the reputation of the Peruvian merchants incurred no diſgrace.

The fair, the duration of which, on account of the noxious qualities of the air, was limited to forty days, was regularly holden. It is clear from the acts of

1595, that the galleons muſt have been diſpatched from Spain every year, or at the lateſt every eighteen months; and the twelve fleets that failed from the fourth of Auguſt 1628, to the third of June 1635, prove that this rule was ſtrictly obſerved. They returned after a voyage of eleven, ten, and ſometimes even eight months, laden with immenſe riches, in gold, ſilver, and merchandiſe.

This proſperity continued without interruption to the middle of the ſeventeenth century. After the loſs of Jamaica, a conſiderable contraband trade took place, which till that time had been trifling. The ſacking of Panama in 1670, by John Morgan the Engliſh pirate, was attended with ſtill more diſtreſsful conſequences. Peru, which ſent its ſtock beforehand into this city, now no longer tranſmitted it till after the arrival of the galleons at Carthagena. This alteration occaſioned delays and uncertainties. The fairs were not much frequented, and ſmuggling increaſed.

The elevation of a French prince to the throne of Charles V. excited a general war; and, at the very commencement of hoſtilities, the galleons were burnt in the port of Vigo, where the impoſſibility of gaining Cadiz had obliged them to take refuge. The communication of Spain with Porto Bello was then totally interrupted; and the South Sea had more than ever direct and regular connections with foreign powers.

The peace of Utrecht did not put an end to the miſchief. The unfortunate ſituation of circumſtances, made it impoſſible for the court of Madrid to diſpenſe with granting excluſively to an Engliſh Company the privilege of providing Peru with ſlaves. They were even obliged to grant to this encroaching Company the right of ſending to each fair a veſſel laden with the different merchandiſe that the country conſumed. This veſſel, which ought not to have been of more than five hundred tons burden, always carried more than a thouſand. It was neither furniſhed with water nor proviſions. Four or five veſſels, which followed it, ſupplied its wants; and frequently ſubſtituted new

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goods in the place of fuch as had been fold. The galleons, ruined by this competition, were ftill more completely fo by the fraudulent tranfactions carried on in all the ports to which the Negroes were conveyed. At laft, after the expedition of 1737, it was impoffible to fupport this commerce any longer; and a ftop was put to thofe famous fairs envied by all nations, though they ought to have been regarded as the common treafure of all people.

From this period Panama and Porto Bello have aftonifhingly declined. Thefe two towns now only ferve to carry on a few branches of a languid trade. Affairs of greater importance have been turned into another channel.

The Spaniards have fubftituted the route through the Straits of Magellan and by Cape Horn to that of Panama.

It is well known that Magellan difcovered, in 1520, at the fouthern extremity of America, the famous ftrait which bears his name. He faw there, and they have been frequently feen fince, men who were about a foot higher than Europeans. Other navigators have only feen in the fame latitudes men of an ordinary ftature. During the courfe of two centuries, navigators have mutually accufed each other of ignorance, prejudice, and impofture. At length fome voyagers have been fortunate enough to meet with hordes of a common fize, and others of a more elevated ftature; and they have concluded from this decifive event, that the perfons who had gone before them had been right in what they affirmed, and wrong in what they denied. Then only it occurred, that there were no fixed inhabitants in thefe uncultivated regions; that the people came there from countries more or lefs diftant; and that it was probable that the favages of one diftrict were taller than thofe of another. This conjecture hath been fupported by natural philofophy. It can never indeed be reafonably imagined, that nature deviates more from her principles, in producing thofe perfons whom we choofe to call giants, than in giving birth to thofe we call dwarfs.

There are giants and dwarfs in all countries. There are giants, dwarfs, and men of a common fize, born of

the ſame father and the ſame mother. There are giants and dwarfs in every ſpecies of animals, trees, fruits, and plants; and whatever ſyſtem of generation we may adopt, we have no greater reaſon to be aſtoniſhed at the difference of ſtature between men of the ſame family, or of different families, than to ſee fruits of a different ſize upon a neighbouring tree, or upon the ſame. The man who ſhall explain one of theſe phenomena will explain them all.

The Strait of Magellan is one hundred and fourteen leagues long, and in ſome places leſs than a league in breadth. It ſeparates the land of the Patagonians from the Terra del Fuego, which, it is preſumed, were formerly one and the ſame continent. The conformity of their barren coaſts, of their rough climate, of their monſtrous rocks, of their inacceſſible mountains, of their eternal ſnows, of their ſavage inhabitants; every circumſtance, in a word, tends to ſuggeſt the idea, that this large channel of navigation is the effect of one of thoſe natural revolutions which ſo often change the face of the globe.

Though it was for a long time the only paſſage known into the South Sea, the dangers incurred there cauſed it almoſt to be forgotten. The boldneſs of Drake, the celebrated navigator, who failed by this track to ravage the coaſts of Peru, determined the Spaniards, in 1582, to form a conſiderable ſettlement there, deſtined to preſerve this rich part of the New World from invaſion. This new colony periſhed almoſt entirely for want of proviſions.

Pedro Sarmiento, who was charged with this important enterpriſe, ſet out from Europe in 1581, with twenty-three ſhips, and three thouſand five hundred men. The expedition was thwarted by ſo many repeated calamities, that the admiral arrived the following year at the Strait with only four hundred men, thirty women, and proviſions for ſeven or eight months. The deplorable remains of ſo fine a colony were ſettled at Phillipeville, in a ſafe, commodious, and ſpacious bay. But the misfortunes that had ſo cruelly attacked

BOOK VII. the Spaniards in their passage, obstinately pursued them at the end of their voyage. No succour was sent to them; the country furnished them no subsistence, and they perished with misery. Of the four-and-twenty wretches who had escaped this terrible calamity, three-and-twenty, whose fate hath always remained unknown, embarked for the river Plata. Fernando Gomez, the only one that remained, was taken up in 1587, by the English pirate Cavendish, who gave to the place where he had found him the name of Port Famine.

The loss of this colony was not, however, attended with such consequences as had been apprehended. The Straits of Magellan soon ceased to be the road of these pirates, who were urged by their mercenary views to visit these remote regions. In 1616, some Dutch navigators having doubled Cape Horn, this became afterwards the road which the enemies of Spain followed, who designed to pass into the South Sea. It was still more frequented by French vessels, during the war which caused such confusion in Europe at the beginning of the present century. The impossibility which Philip V. felt of furnishing his colonies himself with provisions, emboldened the subjects of his grandfather to go to Peru. The want of every thing, which the inhabitants then experienced, made the French to be received with joy; and at first they got a profit of eight hundred *per cent.* The merchants of Saint Malo, who had seized upon this commerce, did not acquire riches for themselves alone. In 1709, they delivered them up to their country, which was exhausted by the inclemency of the seasons, by repeated defeats, and by an ignorant and arbitrary administration. A navigation which allowed of such noble sacrifices, soon excited an emulation that was too universal. The competition became so considerable, and the goods fell into such disrepute, that it was impossible to sell them; and several privateers burnt them, that they might not be obliged to carry them back into their country. The equilibrium was not long in re-esta-

bliſhing itſelf; and theſe foreign traders made advantages that were conſiderable, when the court of Madrid, in 1718, took effectual meaſures to remove them from theſe latitudes, which they had but too long frequented.

It was not, however, till 1740, that the Spaniards began themſelves to double Cape Horn. They employed ſhips and pilots from Saint Malo in their firſt voyages: but a little experience ſoon enabled them to go without theſe foreign aſſiſtances; and theſe ſtormy ſeas ſoon grew more familiar to their navigators, than they had ever been to their maſters in this career.

Is Peru as rich as it was formerly?

Till then, the high opinion that had been always entertained, and for a long time with reaſon, of the riches of Peru, had been kept up. The court of Spain accuſed the ſmuggling trade of having turned aſide the greateſt part of them; and they flattered themſelves that the new ſyſtem they adopted would bring them back into their ports in as great abundance as at the moſt diſtant periods. A demonſtration, to which it was impoſſible not to accede, convinced the moſt incredulous perſons, that the mines of this part of the New World were no longer what they had been, and that the void they had left had not been filled up by any other objects.

From 1748 to 1753, Lima received from Spain, for all Peru, ten ſhips, which brought back every year 30,764,617 livres [1,281,859l. 8d.]. This ſum was compoſed of 4,594,192 livres [191,404l. 13s. 6d.] in gold; of 20,673,657 livres [861,402l. 7s. 6d.] in ſilver; and of 5,496,768 livres [229,032l. 10s.] in various productions.

Theſe productions were thirty-one thouſand quintals of cacao, which were ſold in Europe for 3,240,000 livres [135,000l.]. Six hundred quintals of bark, which were ſold for 207,360 livres [8640l.]. Four hundred and ſeventy quintals of Vicuna wool, which were ſold for 324,000 livres [13,500l.]. Ten thouſand eight hundred and fifty quintals of copper, which were ſold for 810,108 livres [33,792l.]. Ten thouſand ſix

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hundred quintals of tin, which were fold for 915,300 livres [38,137l. 10s.].

Of the gold and filver, 1,620,000 livres [67,500l.] belonged to the government; 19,422,671 livres [809,277l. 19s. 2d.] to trade; and 4,225,178 livres [176,049l. 1s. 8d.] to the clergy, and the civil and military officers.

Of the merchandife, there were 1,381,569 livres [57,565l. 7s. 6d.] for the crown; and 4,115,199 livres [171,466l. 12s. 6d.] for the merchants.

Time hath produced fome little change in affairs, but the improvement is not confiderable.

BOOK VIII.

Conqueft of Chili and Paraguay by the Spaniards. Account of the Events that have accompanied and followed the Invafion of thefe Countries. Principles on which Spain regulates her Colonies.

BOOK VIII.

Have the Europeans had a right to found colonies in the New World?

REASON and equity both allow the foundation of colonies; but they point out the principles from which we ought not to deviate in eftablifhing them.

Any number of men, however confiderable, coming into a foreign and unknown country, are to be confidered only as one fingle man. Strength increafes with numbers, but the right is ftill the fame. If one or two hundred men can fay, *this country belongs to us*, one man may fay the fame.

The country is either defert, or partly defert; and partly peopled, or it is entirely peopled.

If it be entirely peopled, I have no right to claim any thing but hofpitality, and the affiftance which one man owes to another. If I fhould be expofed to perifh with cold or hunger upon any fhore, I fhall make ufe of my weapon, I fhall take what I want by force, and I fhall kill any one who refifts me. But when I have obtained an afylum, fire and water, bread and falt, the people have fulfilled their obligations towards

me. If I require more, I become a thief and an aſſaſſin. I have been, however, ſuffered to remain among them, and have made myſelf acquainted with their laws and manners. They ſuit my inclinations, and I am deſirous of ſettling in the country. If the people conſent, it is a favour they do me; if they refuſe, I have no right to be offended. The Chineſe are, perhaps, bad politicians, when they ſhut the gates of their empire againſt us; but they are not unjuſt. Their country is ſufficiently populous, and we are gueſts of too dangerous a nature.

If the country be partly deſert and partly occupied, the deſerted part belongs to me; for I may take poſſeſſion of it by my labour. The former inhabitant would be barbarous, if he came ſuddenly to overthrow my hut, deſtroy my plantations, and pillage my fields. I may repel his irruption by force. I may extend my domain to the confines of his. The foreſts, the rivers, and the ſhores of the ſea, are common to us both, unleſs the excluſive uſe of them ſhould be neceſſary to his ſubſiſtence. All he can require of me further, is, that I ſhould be a peaceable neighbour, and that my eſtabliſhment ſhould have no threatening aſpect to him. Every nation is authoriſed to provide for its future and preſent ſafety. If I make a formidable encloſure, if I collect arms, if I raiſe fortifications, its deputies will be wiſe, if they come to tell me, Art thou our friend or our enemy? If a friend, what is the uſe of all theſe warlike preparations? If an enemy, you will give us leave to deſtroy them; and the nation will act prudently, if at the inſtant they get rid of their well-founded apprehenſions. With much greater reaſon may they expel and exterminate me, without offence to the laws of humanity and juſtice, if I ſeize upon their wives, their children, or their property; if I make any attempts againſt their civil liberty; if I reſtrain them in their religious opinions; if I pretend to give them laws; and if I wiſh to enſlave them. I then become one wild beaſt more in their neighbourhood; and they owe me no more pity than they would

BOOK VIII. a tiger. If I have provifions which they want, and if they have fome that are ufeful to me, I may propofe exchanges. We are both of us at liberty to fet what price we choofe on what belongs to us. A needle is of more real value to a people reduced to the neceffity of fewing the fkins of the beafts which cover them with the bone of a fifh, than their filver can be to me. A fabre, or a hatchet, will be of infinite value to him who fupplies the place of thefe inftruments with cutting ftones, fixed in a piece of wood hardened in the fire. Befides, I have croffed the feas to bring thefe ufeful articles; and I fhall crofs them again to carry back into my country the things I have taken in exchange. The expences of the voyage, the averages, and the dangers, muft therefore enter into the calculation. If I laugh within myfelf at the abfurdity of the man who gives me up his gold for iron, he, in his turn, laughs at me, who give him up my iron, all the ufefulnefs of which he knows, for his gold, which is of no fervice to him. We are both mutually impofed upon, or rather, indeed, there is no impofition on one fide or the other. Exchanges ought to be perfectly free. If I want to take away by force what is denied me, or to compel by violence the acceptance of what is rejected, they have a legal right to confine me, or to drive me away. If I feize upon the foreign commodity without offering the price for it, or if I carry it away clandeftinely, I am a thief, who may be killed without fcruple.

A defert and uninhabited country is the only one we can appropriate to ourfelves. The firft difcovery, being well afcertained, was a legitimate taking of poffeffion.

From thefe principles, which appear to me founded in truth, let the European nations judge of themfelves, and give themfelves what name they deferve. Their navigators arrive in a part of the New World which is not occupied by any of the people belonging to the Old, and they immediately bury in the ground a fmall plate of metal upon which they have engraved thefe

words: THIS DISTRICT BELONGS TO US. And why does it belong to you? Are you not as unjuſt and as fooliſh as ſavages, who, being thrown by chance upon your coaſts, ſhould write upon the ſand of your ſhore, or upon the bark of your trees: THIS COUNTRY BELONGS TO US? You have no right over the inſenſible and brute part of the creation, over the ſoil where you land; and yet you arrogate one over man, who is your fellow-creature. Inſtead of acknowledging in this man a brother, you conſider him only as a ſlave, or beaſt of burden. O my fellow-citizens! you think and you act in this manner, although you have notions of juſtice, a ſyſtem of morality, a holy religion, and one common Parent with thoſe whom you treat ſo tyrannically. This reproach ſhould be addreſſed more particularly to the Spaniards; and it will unfortunately be ſtill more juſtified by the enormities they have committed in the country of Chili.

First irruptions of the Spaniards into Chili.

This region, ſuch as it is poſſeſſed by the Spaniards, hath one common breadth of thirty leagues between the ſea and the Cordeleirias, and nine hundred leagues of coaſt, from the great deſert of Atacamas, which ſeparates it from Peru, to the iſlands of Chiloe, which divide it from the country of the Patagonians.

The Incas had prevailed upon part of the inhabitants of this vaſt region to ſubmit to their wiſe laws, and intended to ſubdue the whole, had they not met with inſuperable difficulties.

This important project was reſumed by the Spaniards, as ſoon as they had conquered the principal provinces of Peru. In the beginning of 1535, Almagro ſet out from Cuſco with five hundred and ſeventy Europeans, and fifteen thouſand Peruvians. He traverſed at firſt the country of Carcas, to which the mines of Potoſi have ſince given ſo much celebrity. To go from this country to Chili, there were but two ways known, and they were both conſidered as impracticable. The firſt preſented along the borders of the ſea nothing but burning ſands, without water and without ſubſiſtence. To purſue the ſecond, it was

BOOK VIII. neceſſary to croſs very ſteep mountains of a prodigious height, and covered with ſnows as old as the creation. Theſe difficulties did not diſcourage the general; and he determined upon the laſt of theſe, for no other reaſon than becauſe it was the ſhorteſt. His ambition was the deſtruction of one hundred and fifty Spaniards, and ten thouſand Indians: but at length he accompliſhed his deſign, and was received with the greateſt marks of ſubmiſſion by the nations that had been formerly under the dominion of the empire that had juſt been ſubverted. The terror of his arms would, probably, have procured him greater advantages, had not ſome concerns of a private nature brought him back to the centre of the empire. His little army refuſed to repaſs the Cordeleirias; and he was obliged to bring it back by the way he had firſt neglected. It accidentally met with ſo many fortunate circumſtances, that it ſuffered much leſs than had been expected. This good ſucceſs enlarged the views of Almagro, and precipitaten him, perhaps, into thoſe enterpriſes which occaſioned his fatal end.

The Spaniards appeared again in Chili in 1541. Valdivia, their leader, entered it without the leaſt oppoſition. The nations that inhabited it were no ſooner recovered from the aſtoniſhment with which they had been ſeized at the view of the European arms and diſcipline, than they wiſhed to regain their independence. The war continued inceſſantly for ten years. If ſome diſtricts, diſcouraged by repeated loſſes, reſolved at laſt to ſubmit, many of them obſtinately perſiſted in the defence of their liberty, though they were generally defeated.

An Indian captain, whoſe age and infirmities confined him to his hut, was continually told of theſe miſfortunes. The grief of ſeeing his people always beaten by a handful of ſtrangers, inſpired him with courage. He formed thirteen companies of a thouſand men each, arranged them in file, and led them againſt the enemy. If the firſt company was routed, it was not to fall back upon the next, but to rally, and be ſupported by it.

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This order, which was ſtrictly obeyed, diſconcerted the Spaniards. They forced through all the companies one after another, without gaining any material advantage. As both the men and horſes wanted reſt, Valdivia retreated towards a defile, where he judged he could eaſily defend himſelf; but the Indians did not allow him time ſufficient to ſecure his retreat thither. Their rear marched through bye-ways, and took poſſeſſion of the defile; while their vanguard followed him with ſo much precaution, that he was ſurrounded and maſſacred, together with his hundred and fifty men. It is ſaid, that the ſavages poured melted gold down his throat, exclaiming with exultation, *glut thyſelf with that metal thou art ſo fond of.* They availed themſelves of this victory, to burn and deſtroy many of the European ſettlements, which would all have ſhared the ſame fate, had not the Spaniards been timely aſſiſted by ſome conſiderable reinforcements from Peru, which enabled them to defend their remaining poſts, and to recover thoſe they had loſt.

The Spaniards have been obliged to be continually engaged in hoſtilities in Chili. Manner in which their enemies make war.

Theſe fatal hoſtilities have been renewed, in proportion as the uſurpers have wiſhed to extend their empire, and frequently even when they did not entertain this ambitious deſign. The engagements have been very bloody, and have ſcarce ever been interrupted, except by truces of more or leſs duration. Since the year 1771, however, tranquillity hath not been diſturbed.

The people of Arauco are the moſt common, the moſt intrepid, and the moſt irreconcileable enemies the Spaniards have in theſe regions. They are often joined by the inhabitants of Tucapel, and of the river Biobio, and by thoſe who extend towards the Cordeleirias. As their manners bear a greater reſemblance to thoſe of the ſavages of North America, than to thoſe of the Peruvians, their neighbours, the confederacies they make are always formidable.

When they go to war, they carry nothing with them, and want neither tents nor baggage. The ſame trees from which they gather their food, ſupply them

BOOK VIII. with lances and darts. As they are ſure of finding in one place what they had in another, they willingly reſign any country which they are unable to defend. All places are equally indifferent to them. Their troops, free from all encumbrance of proviſions and ammunition, march with ſurpriſing agility. They expoſe their lives like men who ſet little value on them; and, if they loſe the field of battle, they are not at a loſs for magazines and encampments wherever there is ground covered with fruits.

Theſe are the only people of the New World who have ventured to try their ſtrength with the Spaniards in the open field, and who have thought of the uſe of the ſling to lance the ſtroke of death from afar againſt the enemy. They are ſo bold, that they will attack the beſt fortified poſts. They ſometimes ſucceed in theſe violent attacks, becauſe they are continually receiving ſuccours, which prevent them from being ſenſible of their loſſes. If theſe be ſo conſiderable as to oblige them to deſiſt, they retire to the diſtance of a few leagues; and five or ſix days after, they direct their attacks to another poſt. Theſe barbarians never think themſelves beaten, unleſs they be ſurrounded. If they can reach a place of difficult acceſs, they think themſelves conquerors. The head of a Spaniard, which they carry off in triumph, comforts them for the loſs of a hundred Indians.

Sometimes hoſtilities are foreſeen for a conſiderable time before, and are concerted with prudence. Very frequently a drunken fellow wantonly calls to arms; the alarm is inſtantly ſpread, a chief is choſen, and war is determined. A certain night is immediately fixed upon, in the dead of which, the time they always chooſe for the commencement of hoſtilities, they fall upon the next village where there are Spaniards, and from thence proceed to others. They murder all the inhabitants, except the white women, whom they always take to themſelves. This is the origin of the many white and fair Indians that are to be met with.

As theſe Americans carry on war without expence

or inconvenience, they have nothing to apprehend from its continuance; and it is a conftant rule with them never to fue for peace. The pride of Spain muft always condefcend to make the firft overtures. When thefe are favourably received, a conference is holden. The governor of Chili and the Indian general, attended by the moft diftinguifhed captains on both fides, fettle the terms of accommodation, at a convivial meeting. Thefe meetings were formerly holden on the frontiers; but the two laft were in the capital of the colony. The favages have even been prevailed upon to keep conftantly fome deputies there, who are commiffioned to maintain harmony between the two nations.

Settlements formed by the Spaniards at Chili.

Notwithftanding the violence and obftinacy of fo many engagements, feveral good fettlements have been formed at Chili, chiefly on the borders of the ocean.

Coquimbo, or La Serena, a town built in 1544, at the diftance of five or fix hundred toifes from the fea, to contain the Indians, and to fecure the communication between Chili and Peru, was never a place of importance. It became ftill lefs confiderable after having been pillaged and burnt by pirates. Notwithftanding the fertility of its territory, and although plentiful mines of the fineft copper have been difcovered in its neighbourhood, it hath never entirely got the better of this misfortune.

Valparaifo was at firft nothing more than a collection of huts, deftined to receive the merchandife coming from Peru, and the provifions that were to be fent there. By degrees the factors of this trade, which belonged entirely to the merchants of the capital, fucceeded in appropriating it to themfelves. Then this wretched hamlet, though in a very difagreeable fituation, became a flourifhing city. Its harbour runs a league into the land. The bottom of it is a tenacious and firm kind of mud. At the diftance of a thoufand toifes from the fhore, there are from thirty-fix to forty fathoms of water, and from fifteen to fixteen quite

BOOK VIII. close to the ſhore. In the months of April and May, the north winds would expoſe the ſhips to ſome danger, if care were not taken to faſten their anchors ſtrongly. The advantage which this port hath of being the neareſt to the beſt plantations, and to Saint Yago, may relieve it from the apprehenſion of ſeeing its proſperity diminiſh.

In 1550, the town of La Conception was built on an uneven and ſandy ſoil, a little raiſed, upon the borders of a bay which is near four leagues in circumference, and which hath three ports, one of which only is ſafe. The town was at firſt the capital of the colony: but the neighbouring Indians ſo frequently made themſelves maſters of it, that, in 1574, it was thought proper to deprive it of this uſeful and honourable diſtinction. In 1603, it was again deſtroyed by an implacable enemy. Since that period, it hath received very conſiderable damages from ſeveral earthquakes. Such, however, is the excellence of its territory, that it ſtill retains ſome degree of ſplendour.

At the diſtance of ſeventy-five leagues from Conception iſland, and ſtill on the borders of the Pacific Ocean, ſtands Valdivia, a town more important than it is populous. Its harbour and fortreſs, which are conſidered as the key of the South Sea, were for a long time under the immediate inſpection of the viceroys of Peru. It was at length found that this was too diſtant a ſuperintendence; and the place was incorporated with the government of the province.

No one had yet thought of the iſlands of Chiloe. The good fortune which the Jeſuits had had, of collecting and civilizing a great number of ſavages in the chief of them, which is fifty leagues long, and ſeven or eight broad, excited a deſire of ſettling in them. In the centre are the converted Indians. On the eaſtern coaſt a fortification, named Chacao, hath been built, where the garriſon neceſſary for its defence is maintained.

In the inland part of the country is Saint Yago, haſtily built in 1541, deſtroyed in 1730 by an earth-

quake, and immediately after rebuilt, in a ſtyle ſo pleaſant, and with ſuch conveniencies, as are very rarely found in the New World. The houſes, indeed, are low, and conſtructed with bricks hardened in the ſun: but they are all white on the outſide, all painted within. They have all large gardens, and are refreſhed with running ſtreams. This city reckons forty thouſand inhabitants; and the number would be ſtill greater, were it not for nine convents of monks, and ſeven of nuns, which have been erected there by ſuperſtition.

Among the number of unfortunate auſpices under which the diſcovery of the New World was made, we muſt not forget the importance which the prevailing ſpirit of ſuperſtition then gave to the monks; an importance which in ſome countries hath ſince been conſiderably diminiſhed; which ſeems to ſtruggle powerfully againſt the progreſs of ſcience in others; which ſtill prevails with imperious ſway in thoſe poſſeſſions that are diſtant from Spain, and which would yet leave traces as permanent as they are fatal, if even they were from this moment counteracted by all the authority of the miniſtry.

Saint Yago is the capital of the ſtate and the ſeat of empire. The commandant there is ſubordinate to the viceroy of Peru in all matters relating to the government, to the finances, and to war: but he is independent of him as chief adminiſtrator of juſtice, and preſident of the royal audience. Eleven corregidors, diſtributed in the province, are charged, under his orders, with the details of adminiſtration.

A population of four or five hundred thouſand perſons hath ſucceſſively been formed in this diſtrict. There are but few here of thoſe unfortunate ſlaves that Africa ſupplies; and moſt of them are devoted to domeſtic ſervice. The deſcendants of the firſt ſavages, who were ſubdued with ſo much difficulty by a ſet of ferocious adventurers, have either taken refuge among inacceſſible mountains, or are confounded with their conquerors. All the coloniſts are conſidered and treated as Spaniards. The pride of this

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descent hath not inspired them with that invincible aversion for useful labour, which is so universal in their nation. Most of these healthy, active, and robust men live upon separate plantations, and cultivate, with their own hands, a territory of greater or less extent.

Fertility of Chili, and its present state.

They are encouraged in these commendable labours, by a sky always pure, and always serene; by a climate the most agreeably temperate of any in the two hemispheres; and still more by a soil, the fertility of which astonishes all travellers. Upon this fortunate land, the crops of the vine, of corn, and of the olive, although little care hath been taken in the cultivation, are four times as much as those we obtain in Europe, with all our industry and with all our skill. None of the fruits of the earth have degenerated. Several of our animals have improved, and the horses, in particular, have acquired a speed and a spirit, which those of Andalusia, from which they descend, never had. Nature hath carried her favours still farther, in bestowing upon this region an excellent kind of copper, which is employed, with advantage, in the Old and in the New World. Gold is likewise found here.

Before the year 1750, the treasury had not received in any year, for its twentieth of this precious metal, more than 50,220 livres [2092l. 10s.]. At this period a mint was established in the colony; and this innovation was attended with favourable consequences. In 1771, the royal duties amounted to 200,032 livres 4 sols [8334l. 13s. 6d.]; and it must have increased considerably since. The alcavala, and the customs, did not produce more than 324,000 livres [13,500l.], and they now bring in 1,080,000 livres [45,000l.]. These several branches of revenue are increased since 1753, by the exclusive sale of tobacco.

Accordingly, Chili is no longer obliged to draw any thing from the coffers of Peru for its public expences. The most considerable of these is the maintenance of the troops. It amounts to 490,125 livres 12 sols [20,421l. 18s.], for the pay of a thousand infantry, of two hundred and forty horse, and of two com-

panies of well-affected Indians; which, since 1754, form the establishment of the country. Exclusive of these forces, which are distributed in the islands Juan Fernandez, and of Chiloe, and in the ports of La Conception, and of Val Paraiso, upon the frontiers of the Andes, there is in Valdivia a particular garrison of seven hundred and forty-six soldiers, the maintenance of which costs 655,473 livres 12 sols [27,311l. 8s.]. These means of defence would be supported, if necessary, by a very numerous militia. Perhaps, the infantry of these forces would make but little resistance, notwithstanding the pains that have been lately taken to exercise them: but some exertions might reasonably be expected from the best horsemen there are, perhaps, on the globe.

Trade of Chili with the savages, with Peru, and with Paraguay.

Chili hath always had commercial connections with the neighbouring Indians on its frontiers, with Peru, and with Paraguay.

The savages supply it chiefly with the Pancho. This is a woollen stuff, sometimes white, and generally blue, about three ells long, and two in breadth. The head is passed through a hole made in the middle, and it falls down on all the parts of the body. Except on occasions of some ceremonies that are very unfrequent, the men and women, the common people, and persons of a more elevated rank, use no other clothing. It costs from thirty to one thousand livres [from 1l. 5s. to 41l. 13s. 4d.], according to the degree of its fineness, and especially according to the borders, more or less elegant, and more or less rich, that are added to it. These people receive in exchange small looking-glasses, toys, and some other articles of little value. Whatever may be their passion for these trifles, when they are displayed before them, they would never go out of their forests and fields in search of them; it is therefore always necessary that they should be carried to them. The merchant who wishes to undertake this little trade, applies in the first instance to the heads of the families, who are the sole depositaries of the public authority. When he hath obtained permission to sell, he goes

BOOK VIII. through the habitations, and gives his merchandiſe indiſcriminately to all the perſons who aſk for it. Having finiſhed this buſineſs, he gives notice of his departure, and every one who hath purchaſed any thing of him, brings, without delay, to the village where he firſt made his appearance, the goods agreed for between them. There hath never been any inſtance of diſhoneſty in this traffic. The merchant is allowed an eſcort to aſſiſt him in conducting the cloths and the cattle he hath received in payment to the frontiers of the country.

It is not from what we find in the midſt of foreſts, but from what we obſerve in the centre of poliſhed ſocieties, that we learn to deſpiſe and to miſtruſt mankind. If any of our merchants, in any one of our fairs, were indiſcriminately to diſtribute his goods, without ſecurity for the payment of them, to whomſoever ſhould come to receive them, is it to be imagined that he would ever again ſee the people return with the price of the things they had purchaſed? A ſavage, unreſtrained by laws, would not be guilty of thoſe things which men who are under the influence of honour, and the controul of civil and religious laws, would not bluſh to commit, to the diſgrace of our religion, of our policy, and of our morals.

Wine and brandy were ſold, till the year 1724, to theſe people, who, like moſt other ſavages, are exceſſively fond of them. When they were intoxicated they uſed to take up arms, maſſacre all the Spaniards they met with, and ravage the country near their dwellings. It is ſeldom that the corrupter doth not receive his puniſhment from the very perſon he hath corrupted. Frequent inſtances of this are ſeen in children with reſpect to their fathers, who have neglected their education; in women towards their huſbands, whoſe morals are bad; in ſlaves, towards their maſters; in ſubjects towards their ſovereigns, when neglected by them; in a ſubdued nation towards the uſurpers. We ourſelves have been puniſhed for the vices we have transferred into the other hemiſphere; among ourſelves and among people of the New World,

whom we have ſubdued; among ourſelves, by the multitude of factitious wants we have created: among them, in a variety of ways, and particularly by teaching them the uſe of ſpirituous liquors, which hath often animated them with artificial fury, which they have turned againſt us. In whatever manner we proceed, whether by ſuperſtition, by patriotiſm itſelf, or by ſpirituous liquors, in depriving man of his reaſon, it cannot be done without fatal conſequences. If we intoxicate him, whatever may be the nature of the intoxication, it will ſoon go off, or it will be productive of miſchief.

Drunkenneſs, or an habitual exceſs in the uſe of ſpirituous liquors, is a coarſe and brutal vice, which deprives the mind of its vigour, and the body of part of its ſtrength. It is an infringement of the law of nature, which forbids man to forfeit his reaſon, the only advantage which diſtinguiſhes him from other animals, who live on the ſurface of the globe.

This irregularity, though always blameable, is not equally ſo every where, becauſe it is not attended with the ſame inconveniences in all regions. Generally ſpeaking, it makes men furious in hot countries, and only renders them ſtupid in cold ones. It hath therefore been neceſſary to forbid it with more ſtrictneſs in one climate than in another. From hence it hath happened, that wherever a regular form of government hath been eſtabliſhed, this vice is become more uncommon under the equator than towards the pole.

This is not the caſe among ſavage nations. Thoſe of the ſouth not being more reſtrained than thoſe of the north, by the magiſtrate or by habit, they have all devoted themſelves with equal fury to their paſſion for ſtrong liquors. It hath been a part of the policy of the Europeans, to ſupply the ſavages with them, either for the purpoſe of ſtripping or of enſlaving them, or even to induce them to employ themſelves in ſome uſeful labours. Theſe liquors have ſcarce been leſs deſtructive to theſe people than our arms; and we cannot forbear to rank them among the number of

BOOK VIII. calamities with which we have loaded the other hemisphere.

Spain is to be commended for having at length abstained from selling to the inhabitants of Chili wine and brandy. This prudent step hath evidently increased the connections that were kept up with them: but it is not possible that they should for a long time become so considerable as those that are maintained with Peru.

Chili supplies Peru with hides, dried fruit, copper, salt meat, horses, hemp, and corn, and receives in exchange, tobacco, sugar, cocoa, earthen ware, some manufactures made at Quito, and some articles of luxury brought from Europe. The ships sent from Callao on this traffic, which is reciprocally useful, were formerly bound for Conception Bay, but now come to Valparaiso. During the course of near a century, no navigator in these tranquil seas would venture to lose sight of land; and then these voyages lasted a whole year.

A pilot of the Old World having at length observed the winds, performed the navigation in one month. He was considered as a wizard, and he was taken up by order of the inquisition, whose ignorance becomes an object of ridicule, when its cruelty doth not excite our abhorrence. The journal he produced was his vindication; and it plainly appeared that to perform the same voyage, it was only necessary to keep clear of the coasts. His method was, therefore, universally adopted.

Chili sends to Paraguay wines, brandy, oil, and chiefly gold; and receives in payment mules, wax, cotton, the herb of Paraguay, negroes, and also much of the merchandise of our hemisphere, before the merchants of Lima had obtained, either by bribery, or by their influence, that this last branch of commerce should be prohibited. The communication between the two colonies is not carried on by sea; it hath been found more expeditious, safer, and even less expensive, to go by land, though there are three hundred and six-

ty-four leagues, from St. Jago to Buenos Ayres, and that more than forty of theſe are amidſt the ſnows and precipices of the Cordeleirias.

If the connections between theſe two eſtabliſhments ſhould be multiplied or extended, they muſt be kept up by the Straits of Magellan, or by Cape Horn. It hath been hitherto a matter of doubt which of theſe two ways was the beſt; but the problem ſeems to be ſolved by the obſervations of the laſt navigators. They almoſt generally prefer the Straits, on account of a quantity of freſh water, wood, fiſh, ſhell fiſh, and the infinite number of plants, ſpecific remedies againſt the ſcurvy, that are to be found there. But this preference can only take place from September to March, that is to ſay, in the ſummer months. During the ſhort days of winter, it would be neceſſary to ſail only for a few hours, or to brave, in a channel moſt commonly narrow, the violence of the winds, the rapidity of the currents, and the impetuoſity of the waves, with an almoſt moral certainty of being ſhipwrecked. In this ſeaſon of the year, the open ſea, and conſequently the doubling of Cape Horn, is to be preferred.

A number of combinations, palpably abſurd, have conſtantly deprived Chili of every immediate connection with Spain. The little merchandiſe of our hemiſphere which this country could conſume came to it from Peru, which received them itſelf with difficulty, and at a great expence, by the road of Panama. The fate of Chili was not even changed when the ſailing by Cape Horn was ſubſtituted to that which was practiſed by the iſthmus of Darien; and it was not till very late, that the ſhips which uſed to coaſt this country in their way to Lima, were permitted to leave ſome ſmall portion of their cargoes. At length, a more agreeable proſpect hath opened itſelf to this beautiful country. Since the month of February 1778, all the ports of the mother-country are allowed to trade there at pleaſure. This fortunate adoption of the true principles of commerce muſt be attended with the greateſt ſucceſs;

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and this innovation will have the fame influence over Paraguay.

The Spaniards difcover Paraguay. Extravagance of their conduct during two centuries.

This is an immenfe region, bounded on the north by Peru and the Brazils, on the fouth by the country bordering on the Straits of Magellan, on the eaft by the Brazils, and on the weft by Chili and Peru.

The Paraguay derives its name from a large river which all geographers have fuppofed to proceed from the lake Xarayes. The Spanifh and Portuguefe commiffioners, appointed in 1751 to regulate the limits of the two empires, were much furprifed to meet each other at the origin of this river, without having perceived this mafs of waters, which was faid to be immenfe. They afcertained, that what had been before taken for a prodigious lake, was nothing more than a very low portion of land, covered, from the fixteenth to the nineteenth degree of latitude, in the rainy feafon, by the overflowings of the river. Since that period, it is known that the Paraguay river takes its rife in the flat country called *Campo des Paracis*, in the thirteenth degree of fouthern latitude; and that towards the eighteenth degree, it communicates, by fome very narrow channels, with two great lakes in the country of the Chiquitos.

Before the arrival of the Spaniards, this immenfe country contained a great number of nations, moft of them confifting of a few families. Their manners muft have been the fame; and if there had been any difference in their characters, it would not have been perceived by the ftupid adventurers who had firft fhed the blood of this part of the New World. Thefe people lived upon hunting, fifhing, wild fruits, honey, which was commonly found in the forefts, and roots that grew fpontaneous. With a view of procuring greater plenty of wood, they were perpetually wandering from one diftrict to another. As the Indians had nothing to remove but a few earthen veffels, and as branches of trees could be found every where to build huts with, thefe emigrations were attended with few encum-

brances. Though they all lived in a ſtate of abſolute independence, yet the neceſſity of mutual defence had obliged them to connect their intereſts. Some individuals united under the direction of a leader of their own choice. Theſe aſſociations, which were more or leſs numerous, in proportion to the reputation and abilities of the chief, were as eaſily diſſolved as formed.

The diſcovery of the river Paraguay was made in 1515, by Diaz de Solis, a noted pilot of Caſtile. He and moſt of his men were maſſacred by the natives, who, to avoid being enſlaved, ſome years after alſo deſtroyed the Portugueſe of Brazil.

The two rival nations, equally alarmed by theſe calamities, gave up all thoughts of Paraguay, and turned their avaricious views towards another place. The Spaniards accidentally returned there in 1526.

Sebaſtian Cabot, who in 1496 had made the diſcovery of Newfoundland for the crown of England, finding that kingdom was too much taken up with domeſtic affairs to think of making ſettlements in a new world, offered his ſervices to Caſtile, where his reputation made him be fixed upon to conduct an important expedition.

The *Victory*, celebrated for being the firſt ſhip that ever ſailed round the world, and the only one of Magellan's ſquadron that returned to Europe, had brought back from the Eaſt Indies a great quantity of ſpices. The great profit that was made from the ſale of them, occaſioned a ſecond expedition, the command of which was given to Cabot. In purſuing the track of the former voyage, he arrived at the mouth of the Plata. Whether he was in want of proviſions neceſſary for a longer voyage, or whether, which is more probable, his men began to be mutinous, he ſtopped there. He even ſailed up the river, gave it the name of *La Plata*, becauſe, among the ſpoils of a few Indians, inhumanly put to death, ſome ornaments of gold and ſilver had been found, and built a kind of fortreſs at the entrance of the river Riotecero, which comes down from the mountains of Tucuman. The oppoſition he met with

BOOK VIII. from the inhabitants of the country, made him judge, that, in order to form a ſolid eſtabliſhment, other means were wanting ſuperior to thoſe he had; and, in 1530, he went to Spain in order to ſolicit them. Thoſe of his companions whom he had left in the colony were moſt of them maſſacred, and the few who eſcaped from the arrows of the enemy ſoon followed him.

Some more conſiderable forces, led by Mendoza, appeared on the river in 1535, and laid the foundations of Buenos-Ayres. They were ſoon reduced to the neceſſity of periſhing with hunger within their palliſades, or of devoting themſelves to certain death, if they ventured to go out of them in order to procure ſubſiſtence. A return into Europe ſeemed to be the only way of relief from ſo deſperate a ſituation: but the Spaniards had perſuaded themſelves that the inland countries abounded in mines; and this prejudice induced them to perſevere. They abandoned a place where they could no longer remain, and went to found, in 1536, a colony on the iſland of Aſſumption, three hundred leagues up the country, but ſtill on the banks of the ſame river. By this change, they evidently removed further from the aſſiſtance of the mother-country; but they imagined it brought them nearer the ſource of riches; and their avidity was ſtill greater than their foreſight.

They were ſtill, however, reduced to the neceſſity of periſhing, unleſs they could ſucceed in diminiſhing the extreme antipathy the ſavages bore them. The marriage of the Spaniards with the Indian women appeared calculated to effect this great change; and it was accordingly reſolved upon. From the union of two ſuch different nations ſprang the race of the Meſtees, which, in proceſs of time, became ſo common in South America. Thus it is the fate of the Spaniards, in all parts of the world, to be a mixed race. The blood of the Moors ſtill flows in their veins in Europe, and that of the ſavages in the other hemiſphere. Perhaps this mixture may be of advantage, if it be a fact that men, as well as animals, are improved by croſſing

the breed. It were indeed to be wished that the various races of mankind were lost in one, that there might be an end of those national antipathies, which only serve to perpetuate the calamities of war, and all the several passions that destroy the human species. But discord seems to arise of itself between brothers; can it therefore be expected that all mankind should become one family, the children of which sprung, as it were, from the same common parent, should no longer thirst after each other's blood? For is not this fatal thirst excited and maintained by that of gold?

It was this shameful passion which kept up the cruelty of the Spaniards, even after the connections they had formed. They seemed to punish the Indians for their own obstinacy in searching for gold where there was none. Several ships, which were bringing them troops and ammunition, were lost, with all they had on board, by venturing too far up the river; but even this circumstance could not prevent them from obstinately persisting in their avaricious views, though they had so long been disappointed in them; till they were compelled, by repeated orders from the mother-country, to re-establish Buenos-Ayres.

This necessary undertaking was now become easy. The Spaniards, who had multiplied in Paraguay, were strong enough to restrain or destroy the nations that might oppose them. Accordingly, as it had been expected, they met with little difficulty. Juan Ortiz de Zarate executed the plan in 1580, and rebuilt Buenos-Ayres upon the same spot which had been forsaken for forty years. Some of the petty nations in the neighbourhood submitted to the yoke. Those which were more attached to their liberty, went to a greater distance, with a view of removing still further, in proportion as their oppressors should extend their establishments. Most of them at last took refuge in Chaco.

Such of the Indians as will not submit to the yoke of Spain take

This country, which is two hundred and fifty leagues in length, and one hundred and fifty in breadth, is reckoned one of the best in America; and it is thought to be peopled with one hundred thousand savages. They

BOOK VIII. form, as in other parts of the New World, a great number of nations, forty-six or forty-seven of which are very imperfectly known.

refuge at Chaco.

This region is traversed by several rivers. The Pilcomayo, more considerable than all the rest, issues from the province of Charcas, and divides into two branches, seventy leagues before it empties itself into the Rio de la Plata. The course of this river appeared to be the most convenient way of establishing settled connections between Paraguay and Peru. It was not, however, till 1702, that an attempt was made to sail up it. The people who dwelt upon the banks understood very well that they should sooner or later be enslaved if the expedition were successful, and they prevented this misfortune by massacring all the Spaniards who were engaged in it.

Nineteen years after, the Jesuits resumed this grand project: but when they had advanced three hundred and fifty leagues, they were forced to put back, because they were in want of water to continue their voyage. They were blamed for having undertaken it in the months of September, October, and November, which, in these countries, are the dry seasons; and there is no doubt but that the enterprise would be successful in the other seasons of the year.

This road of communication must either have appeared less advantageous, or must have presented greater difficulties than were at first conceived, since no attempt hath since been made to open it. The government, however, have not entirely given up their ancient project of subduing these people. After incredible fatigues, and which were for a long time useless, some missionaries have at length succeeded in fixing three thousand of these wanderers in fourteen villages, seven of which are situated on the frontiers of Tucuman, four on the side of Santa Cruz de la Sierra, two towards Taixa, and only one in the neighbourhood of Assumption Island.

The Spaniards succeed in

Notwithstanding the frequent incursions of the inhabitants of Chaco, and the fury of some other less

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founding three large provinces. Peculiarities in each of them.

numerous colonies, Spain hath succeeded in forming three great provinces in this district. That which is called Tucuman is even, well watered, and wholesome. The cotton and the corn that is consumed in the country is cultivated there with the greatest success; and some experiments have shown that indigo, and the other productions peculiar to the New World, would thrive there as well as in any of the settlements which they have enriched for so long a time. The forests are all filled with honey; and there are not, perhaps, better pasturages on the face of the globe. Most of the woods are of a superior kind. There is one tree in particular, known by the name of Quebracho, which is said to be nearly as hard, as weighty, and as durable as the best marble, and which, on account of the difficulty of conveyance, is sold at Potosi for as much as ten thousand livres [416l. 13s. 4d.]. That portion of the Andes which is in this district is abounding in gold and copper, and some mines have been already opened there.

But it would require an infinite number of hands to extract from this immense territory the riches it contains. Notwithstanding this, the persons who give the most favourable accounts of its population do not reckon it to amount to more than one hundred thousand inhabitants, Spaniards, Indians, and Negroes. They are collected in seven villages, of which Saint Yago del Estero is the principal, or are distributed upon scattered domains, some of which have more than twelve leagues in extent, and reckon as far as forty thousand horned cattle, and six thousand horses, without including other herds of animals of less importance.

The province which is particularly called Paraguay is much too damp, on account of the forests, lakes, and rivers, with which it is covered. Accordingly, exclusive of the celebrated missions of the same name which belong to it, it is not computed to contain more than fifty-six thousand inhabitants. Four hundred only are at Assumption, the capital; two other villages, which also bear the names of towns, have still a less

BOOK VIII. number. Fourteen colonies, governed upon the ſame principle as thoſe of the Guaranis, contain ſix thouſand Indians. All the reſt live in the country places, where they cultivate tobacco, cotton, and ſugar, which are ſent, with the herb of Paraguay, to Buenos-Ayres, from whence ſome mercantile articles brought from Europe are received in exchange.

This country was always expoſed to the incurſions of the Portugueſe on the eaſtern ſide, and to thoſe of the ſavages on the north and on the weſt. It was neceſſary to adopt ſome mode of driving back enemies that were moſtly implacable. Forts were conſtructed; lands were appropriated to the maintenance of them; and every citizen bound himſelf to defend them for a week in every month. Theſe arrangements, anciently made, ſtill ſubſiſt. If, however, this ſervice ſhould be diſagreeable to any one, or ſhould interfere with his buſineſs, he may be freed from it by paying from 60 to 100 livres [from 2l. 10s. to 4l. 3s. 4d.], according to his fortune.

The part which at preſent conſtitutes the province of Buenos-Ayres was originally part of that of Paraguay. It was not ſeparated from it till 1621, and it remained for a long time in the greateſt obſcurity. A fraudulent trade, which, after the peace of Utrecht, was opened with it by the ſettlements of the Portugueſe at Saint Sacrament, and which enabled it to form fixed connections with Chili and Peru, imparted to it ſome activity. The misfortune that happened to the ſquadron under Pizarro, who in 1740 was commiſſioned to protect the South Sea againſt the forces of Great Britain, increaſed its population and activity. They both received an addition of extenſion from thoſe enterpriſing men who ſettled in this country, when the courts of Madrid and of Liſbon undertook to fix the too uncertain limits of their territory. At length the war carried on in 1776, between theſe two powers, with troops ſent from Europe, contributed to give ſtill greater ſolidity to the colony.

At preſent, the two banks of the river, from the

ocean to Buenos-Ayres, and from Buenos-Ayres to Santa-Fé, are either covered with numerous flocks, or tolerably well cultivated. Corn, maize, fruits, and pulse, every thing, in a word, which supplies the ordinary wants of life, except wine and wood, grows there in great abundance.

Of the capital of Paraguay, and of the difficulties which navigators must surmount to get there.

Buenos-Ayres, the capital of the colony, unites many advantages. The situation is healthy and pleasant, and the air temperate. It is regularly built. Its streets are wide, and composed of houses that are extremely low; but all of them are embellished with a garden of greater or less extent. The public and private buildings, which fifty years ago were all made of earth, are more solid and commodious, since the natives have learned the art of making brick and lime. The number of inhabitants amounts to thirty thousand. One side of the town is defended by a fortress, with a garrison of six or seven hundred men; and the rest is surrounded by the river. Two thousand nine hundred and forty-three militia, Spaniards, Indians, Negroes, and free Mulattoes, are always ready to join the regulars.

The town stands sixty leagues from the sea. The ships get to it by sailing up a river that wants depth; is full of islands, shoals, and rocks, and where storms are more frequent and more dreadful than on the ocean. It is necessary to anchor every night on the spot they come to; and, on the most moderate days, a pilot must go before in a boat to sound the way for the ship. After having surmounted these difficulties, the ships are obliged to stop at the distance of three leagues from the town, to put their goods on board some light vessels, and to go to refit, and to wait for their cargoes, at Incenada de Barragan, situated seven or eight leagues below.

This is a kind of village, formed by some huts built with rushes, covered with hides, and scattered about without order. Neither magazines nor subsistence are to be found there; and the place is inhabited only by a few indolent men, from whom scarce any service is

BOOK VIII. to be expected. The mouth of a river, which is from five to six thousand toises broad, serves it for a harbour. No ships that draw above twelve feet of water can enter it. Vessels that require more depth are obliged to take refuge behind a neighbouring point, where the anchorage, fortunately, is more inconvenient than dangerous.

The insufficiency of this asylum occasioned, in 1726, the town of Montevideo to be built forty leagues below Buenos-Ayres, and upon a bay which is two leagues in depth. It is defended on the side of the land by a well-constructed citadel, and protected on the side of the river by batteries judiciously placed. Unfortunately there are not more than four or five fathoms of water, and the vessels are obliged to run aground. This is no great inconvenience for the merchantmen; but the men of war perish speedily upon this mud, and are easily warped. Some experienced navigators, on whom nature hath bestowed a spirit of observation, have observed, that, with little labour and expence, one of the finest harbours in the world might have been constructed in the neighbourhood, on the river Saint Lucia. In order to effect this, the only thing necessary was to dig away the bank of sand which renders the entrance of it difficult. The court of Madrid will sooner or later be obliged to adopt this plan, since Maldonado, which was their only hope, is at present acknowledged to be one of the worst harbours in the world.

Of the herb of Paraguay, the chief riches of the colony.

The richest produce that comes from the three provinces is the herb of Paraguay. It is the leaf of a middle-sized tree, which hath not been described or observed by any botanist. The taste is similar to that of mallows, and in shape it resembles an orange tree. It is divided into three sorts. The first, called *caacuys*, is the bud when it just begins to unfold its leaves. This is far superior to the other two, but will not keep so long, and it is therefore difficult to export it to any distance. The next, which is called *caamini*, is the full-grown leaf stripped of its stalks. If these be left

on, it is called *caaguaza*, which is the third ſort. The leaves are firſt roaſted, and then kept in pits digged in the ground, and covered with bulls hides.

The mountains of Maracayu, at the eaſt ſide of Paraguay, furniſh the herb that is moſt eſteemed. The tree which produces it grows in the marſhy valleys that lie between the hills. The city of Aſſumption firſt brought this production, which was the delight of the ſavages, into repute. The exportation of it procured conſiderable riches to the town. But this advantage was not of long continuance, for all the Indians of that diſtrict were ſoon loſt in the long voyage they were obliged to take. The whole country became a deſert for forty leagues round the city; and the inhabitants were obliged to give up this trade, which was the only ſource of their wealth.

To this firſt mart ſucceeded that of Villa Rica, which was nearer to the production by thirty-ſix leagues. This alſo ſoon came to nothing, for the ſame reaſon as had occaſioned the fall of that to which it had ſucceeded.

At length, in the beginning of the century, Curuguati was built, at the diſtance of a hundred leagues from Aſſumption, and at the foot of the mountains of Maracayu. It is at preſent the great market for the herb of Paraguay; but a competition hath lately riſen up againſt it, from a quarter where there was no reaſon to expect one.

The Guaranis, who at firſt gathered the herb only in ſufficient quantity for their own conſumption, collected it, in proceſs of time, for ſale. This employment, and the length of the voyage, kept them abſent from their colonies for a conſiderable part of the year. During this interval they were all deprived of inſtruction. Many of them periſhed by change of air and fatigue. Some grew weary of this laborious employment, and retired into the woods, where they reſumed their former way of life. Beſides, the miſſions, deprived of their defenders, were expoſed to the inroads of the enemy. Theſe evils were too numerous. To ob-

BOOK VIII. viate them, the Jesuits procured seeds from Maracayu, and sowed them in those parts of the land that were most analogous to the soil they were brought from. They grew up very rapidly, and have not degenerated, at least in any sensible degree.

The produce of these plantations, added to that which grows spontaneously, is very considerable. Part of this remains in the three provinces. Chili and Peru consume annually twenty-five thousand quintals of it, which cost them near two millions of livres [83,333l. 6s. 8d.].

This herb, which the Spaniards and other inhabitants of South America take so much delight in, and to which they attribute so many virtues, is in general use through this part of the New World. It is dried and reduced almost to powder, then put into a cup with sugar, lemon-juice, and sweet-scented paste; boiling water is afterwards thrown upon it, and it is drunk off directly, before it hath time to turn black.

Connections of Paraguay with the neighbouring countries, and with Spain.

The herb of Paraguay is of no consequence to Europe, which doth not consume any of it; nor do we interest ourselves more about the trade which this district carries on with the other regions of the New World in excellent mules.

This useful animal is generally multiplied upon the territory of Buenos-Ayres. The inhabitants of the Tucuman carry there woods for building, and wax, which they exchange every year for sixty thousand mules of two years old, which formerly cost no more than three livres [2s. 6d.] each, but which now cost from eight to ten [from 6s. 8d. to 8s. 4d.]. They are kept fourteen months in the pastures of Cordova, eight in those of Salta, and are conducted through roads of six, seven, and nine hundred leagues, by herds of fifteen hundred or two thousand, into Peru, where they are sold near Oruro, Cusco, and Guanca-Velica, at the rate of seventy or a hundred livres [from 2l. 18s. 4d. to 4l. 3s. 4d.], according to the greater or less distance they come from.

Beside this, the Tucuman furnishes to Potosi sixteen

or eighteen thousand oxen, and four or five thousand horses, brought forth and reared upon its own territory. This district would supply twenty times as much of both, if it were possible to find a mart for them.

It will perhaps be a matter of more consequence to our merchants to know the route the cargoes take which they send into this part of this hemisphere.

There is seldom any connection between the villages scattered over this region, at a great distance from each other. Beside that it could not be kept up without great fatigue and much danger, it would be of little use to men who have not any thing, or who have scarce any thing, to offer or to require. Buenos-Ayres alone was much interested in finding a vent for the merchandise it received from Europe, sometimes openly, and sometimes fraudulently; and it at last succeeded in opening a tolerably regular trade with Chili and with Peru. Originally the caravans, which carried on this traffic, had recourse to the use of the needle to conduct them through the vast deserts they were obliged to traverse; but, in process of time, they have travelled without this instrument, which is so necessary for other purposes of much greater importance.

At present carriages set out from Buenos-Ayres for their respective destinations. Several of them go together, in order to be able to resist the savage nations which attack them on their march. They are all drawn by four oxen, carry fifty quintals, and travel seven leagues a day. Those which take the route of Peru stop at Jugey, after having gone over four hundred and sixty-seven leagues; and those which are destined for Chili have no more than two hundred and sixty-four to go over to reach Mendoza. The first receive four piastres, or twenty-one livres eight sols [17s. 10d.] per quintal; and the second a price proportioned to the space they have travelled over. These carriages are always followed by a herd of woolly and horned cattle. The travellers who are tired or fatigued with the carriage ride upon the horses; the ox-

BOOK VIII. en ſerve both for food, and alſo for change in the harneſs.

The year 1764 was the fortunate period of another uſeful inſtitution. The miniſtry had at length determined to diſpatch, every two months, from Corunna, a packet-boat for Buenos-Ayres. This was a ſtaple from which it was neceſſary to ſend the letters and paſſengers into all the Spaniſh poſſeſſions in the South Sea. The paſſage was nine hundred and forty-ſix leagues to Lima, and three hundred and ſixty-four to Saint Yago; and a part of this vaſt ſpace was occupied by immenſe deſerts. An active and intelligent man contrived, however, to eſtabliſh a regular poſt from the capital of Paraguay to the capitals of Peru and Chili, to the great advantage of the three colonies, and conſequently of the mother country.

Paraguay ſends ſeveral articles of greater or leſs importance to Spain; but they have all been brought there from neighbouring diſtricts. The only thing it furniſhes from its own territory is hides.

When the Spaniards forſook Buenos-Ayres in 1539, in order to go up the river again, they left in the neighbouring fields ſome horned cattle, which they had brought over from their own country. They multiplied to ſuch a degree, that, when the town was re-eſtabliſhed, no one choſe to appropriate them. It was afterwards found uſeful to knock them on the head, in order to ſell their hides in Europe. The manner of doing this is remarkable.

A number of huntſmen on horſeback repair to ſuch places as are moſtly frequented by the wild bulls. Each huntſman purſues the bull he fixes upon, and hamſtrings him with a ſharp iron cut in the ſhape of a creſcent, and faſtened to a long handle. When the animal falls down, the huntſman attacks others, and diſables them in the ſame manner. After ſome days ſpent in this violent exerciſe, the huntſmen return in ſearch of the bulls they have diſabled, which they flay, carry away the hides, and ſometimes the tongues and the

fat: the reſt they leave to be devoured by wild dogs or vultures.

The price of hides was ſo low at firſt, that they coſt no more than two livres [1s. 8d.]; though the buyers refuſed thoſe that had the leaſt defect, becauſe they were ſubject to the ſame tax as others that were in the beſt condition. In proceſs of time, the number of them diminiſhed ſo much, that it was neceſſary to give forty-three livres four ſols [1l. 16s.] for the large ones; thirty-ſeven livres ſixteen ſols [1l. 11s. 6d.] for thoſe of an intermediate ſize; and thirty-two livres eight ſols [1l. 7s.] for the ſmall ones. The government, which ſaw with regret this branch of commerce gradually reduced to nothing, forbade the killing of the young bulls. Some active inhabitants collected a great number of heifers in immenſe parks; and ſince theſe innovations have been made, the hides which have all the hair on, and which weigh from twenty to fifty pounds, have been lowered about a third in their price. They all pay eleven livres [9s. 2d.] to government.

From 1748 to 1753, Spain received annually from this colony 8,752,065 livres [364,669l. 7s. 6d.]. The gold that made part of this ſum amounted to 1,524,705 livres [63,529l. 17s. 6d.]; the ſilver to 3,780,000 livres [157,500l.]; and the productions to 3,447,360 livres [143,640l.]. The laſt article was compoſed of three hundred quintals of Vicuna wool, which produced 207,360 livres [8640l.]; and of one hundred and fifty thouſand hides, which brought 3,240,000 livres [135,000l.]. All this was for the benefit of trade, and none of it belonged to the government.

The mother-country will ſoon receive from this region other articles of value; both becauſe the colony of Saint Sacrament, through which the riches uſed to flow, is now taken out of the hands of the Portugueſe, and becauſe the Paraguay hath acquired a ſtate of greater importance than that which it enjoyed.

A fortunate innovation, which muſt improve

The immenſe empire which Caſtile had founded in South America, was for a long time ſubordinate to one ſingle chief. The parts that were diſtant from the

BOOK VIII. the state of Paraguay.

centre of authority, were then neceſſarily abandoned to the caprices, the inexperience, and the rapacity of a multitude of ſubaltern tyrants. No Spaniard, and no Indian, was mad enough to travel thouſands of miles, in order to lay claim to juſtice, which he was almoſt certain of not obtaining. The force of habit, which ſo often ſtifles the voice of reaſon, and which governs ſtates with ſtill more abſolute ſway than it does individuals, prevented men from diſcerning the true cauſe of ſo many calamities. At length the confuſion became ſo general, that what is called the New Kingdom of Granada was detached, in 1718, from this enormous extent of dominion. It ſtill remained much too conſiderable; and the miniſtry have again confined it, in 1760, by forming of part of the dioceſe of Cuſco, of the whole of that of La Paz, of the archbiſhopric of La Plata, of the provinces of Santa Cruz de la Sierra, of Cuyo, of Tucuman, and of Paraguay, another vice-royalty; the ſeat of which is at Buenos-Ayres. The government will, undoubtedly, ſoon regulate the deſtiny of theſe ſingular miſſions, which have been rendered equally celebrated by the praiſes of their panegyriſts, as by the ſatires of their detractors.

Principles on which the Jeſuits founded their miſſions in Paraguay.

America had been laid waſte during the courſe of a century, when the Jeſuits conveyed there that indefatigable activity, which, from their firſt origin, had made them ſo ſingularly remarkable. Theſe enterpriſing men could not recal from the tomb the too numerous victims which had been unfortunately plunged into it by a blind ferociouſneſs; they could not drag out of the bowels of the earth the timid Indians whom the avarice of the conquerors obliged daily to deſcend there. Their tender anxiety was turned towards the ſavages, whom a wandering life had, till then, preſerved from the ſword and from tyranny. The plan was to draw them out of their foreſts, and to collect them into a national body, but at a diſtance from the places inhabited by the oppreſſors of the New Hemiſphere. Theſe views were crowned with more or leſs ſucceſs, in California, among the Moxos, among the Chiquitos, upon

the river Amazon, and in fome other countries. Neverthelefs, none of their inftitutions acquired fo great a degree of fplendour as that which was formed at Paraguay; becaufe it had for its bafis the maxims followed by the Incas in the government of their empire and in their conquefts.

The defcendants of Manco Capac ufed to march to their frontiers with armies, which at leaft knew how to obey, to fight, and to intrench themfelves; and who, together with better offenfive weapons than thofe of the favages, had alfo fhields and defenfive weapons, which their enemies had not. They propofed to the nation which they wanted to unite to their government, to embrace their religion, laws, and manners. Thefe invitations were moft commonly rejected. Frefh deputies were fent, who urged thefe matters more ftrenuoufly than the former. Sometimes they were murdered; and the favages fell fuddenly upon thofe whom they reprefented. The troops that were attacked had generally the advantage; but they fufpended the fight the inftant they had gained the victory, and treated their prifoners fo kindly, that they afterwards infpired their companions with an affection for a conqueror fo humane. A Peruvian army feldom began the attack; and the Inca hath often been known to forbear hoftilities, even after he had experienced the perfidy of the barbarians, and feveral of his foldiers had been murdered.

The Jefuits, who had no army, confined themfelves to the arts of perfuafion. They penetrated into the forefts in fearch of the favages, and prevailed upon them to renounce their old cuftoms and prejudices, to embrace a religion which they did not comprehend, and to enjoy the fweets of fociety, to which they were before ftrangers.

The Incas had another advantage over the Jefuits, which was the nature of their religion, calculated to ftrike the fenfes. It is a more eafy matter to perfuade men to worfhip the fun, which feems to announce its own divinity to mortals, than to adore an invifible God,

BOOK VIII. and to believe doctrines and myſteries which they cannot comprehend. Accordingly, the miſſionaries had the prudence to civilize the ſavages in ſome meaſure, before they attempted to convert them. They did not pretend to make them Chriſtians, till they had made them men. As ſoon as they had got them together, they began to procure them every advantage they had promiſed them, and induced them to embrace Chriſtianity, when, by making them happy, they had contributed to render them tractable.

They imitated the example of the Incas in the diviſion of the lands into three ſhares; for religious purpoſes, for the public, and for individuals; they encouraged working for orphans, old people, and ſoldiers; they rewarded great actions; they inſpected or cenſured the morals of the people; they practiſed acts of benevolence; they eſtabliſhed feſtivals, and intermixed them with laborious employments; they appointed military exerciſes, kept up a ſpirit of ſubordination, invented preſervatives againſt idleneſs, and inſpired them with reſpect for religion and virtue: in a word, whatever was valuable in the legiſlation of the Incas was adopted, or even improved upon, at Paraguay.

The Incas and the Jeſuits had alike eſtabliſhed ſuch a ſyſtem of regularity and order, as prevented the commiſſion of crimes, and removed the neceſſity of puniſhment. There was hardly ſuch a thing as a delinquent in Paraguay. The morals of the people were good, and were maintained in this ſtate of purity by ſtill milder methods than had been made uſe of in Peru. The laws had been ſevere in that empire; they were not ſo among the Guaranis. Puniſhments were not dreaded there; and men feared nothing but the reproach of their own conſcience.

After the example of the Incas, the Jeſuits had eſtabliſhed the theocratical government, with an additional advantage peculiar to the Chriſtian religion: this was the practice of confeſſion, which, in Paraguay, brought the guilty perſon to the feet of the magiſtrate. There, far from palliating his crime, remorſe made him rather

aggravate it; and inftead of endeavouring to elude his punifhment, he implored it on his knees. The more public and fevere it was, the more did it contribute to quiet his confcience. By thefe means, punifhment, which in all other places is the terror of the guilty, was here confidered as a fource of confolation to them, as it ftifled the pangs of remorfe by the expiation of the guilt. The people of Paraguay had no civil laws, becaufe they knew of no property; nor had they any criminal ones, becaufe every one was his own accufer, and voluntarily fubmitted to punifhment: their only laws were the precepts of religion. Theocracy would be the moft excellent of all governments, if it were poffible to preferve it in its purity: but to effect this, it would be neceffary that religion fhould teach nothing but the duties of fociety; that it fhould confider nothing as a crime but what violates the natural rights of mankind; that its precepts fhould not fubftitute prayers in lieu of labour, vain ceremonies inftead of works of charity, or imaginary fcruples to juft remorfe. This was not entirely the cafe at Paraguay. The Spanifh miffionaries had brought along with them too many of their monaftic notions and practices. Perhaps, however, fo much good had never been done to men, with fo little injury.

There were more arts and conveniences in the republics of the Jefuits, than there had been even in Cufco itfelf, without more luxury. The ufe of coin was unknown there. The watchmaker, weaver, lockfmith, and taylor, all depofited their works in public warehoufes. They were fupplied with every neceffary of life; and the hufbandman had laboured for them. The religious inftitutors, affifted by magiftrates who were chofen by the people, attended to the feveral wants of the whole community.

There was no diftinction of ftations; and it is the only fociety on earth where men enjoyed that equality which is the fecond of all bleffings; for liberty is undoubtedly the firft.

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The Incas and the Jesuits have both inspired men with a reverence for religion, by the dazzling pomp of external ceremonies. The temples of the sun were as well constructed, and as well ornamented, as the imperfect state of the arts and of the materials would allow them to be; and the churches in Paraguay are really very beautiful. Sacred music, that awakened their sensibility, affecting hymns, lively paintings, the pomp of ceremonies: every thing, in a word, conspired to attract and to detain the Indians in these places of divine worship, where they found pleasure blended with the exercises of piety.

Reasons that have prevented the increase of population in these celebrated missions.

It should seem that men must have multiplied considerably under a government where none were idle, or fatigued with labour; where the food was equal in wholesomeness, plenty, and quality for all the citizens; where every one was conveniently lodged and well clothed; where the aged and the sick, the widows and orphans, were assisted in a manner unknown in all other parts of the world; where every one married from choice and not from interest, and where a number of children was considered as a blessing, and could never be burdensome: where debauchery, the necessary consequence of idleness, which equally corrupts the opulent and the poor, never tended to abridge the term of human life; where nothing served to excite artificial passions, or contradicted those that are regulated by nature and reason; where the people enjoyed the advantages of trade, and were not exposed to the contagion of vice and luxury; where plentiful magazines, and a friendly intercourse between nations united in the bonds of the same religion, were a security against any scarcity that might happen from the inconstancy or inclemency of the seasons; where public justice had never been reduced to the cruel necessity of condemning a single malefactor to death, to ignominy, or to any punishment of long duration; where the very names of a tax or a law-suit, those two terrible scourges which every where else afflict mankind,

were unknown; ſuch a country muſt naturally be expected to have been the moſt populous in the world; and yet it was far from being ſo.

This empire, which began in the year 1610, extends from the river Parana, which runs into the Paragua under the 20th degree of ſouth latitude, to the Uragua that falls into the ſame river towards the 34th degree. On the banks of thoſe two great rivers, which deſcend from the mountains near Brazil, in the fertile plains that lie between them, the Jeſuits had already, in 1676, ſettled twenty-two colonies; though no account hath been given of their degree of population. In 1702, there were twenty-nine, conſiſting in all of 22,761, families, which amounted to 89,491 ſouls. No account, that can be depended upon, ever made the number of villages amount to more than thirty-two, nor that of the inhabitants to more than 121,168.

Theſe religious legiſlators have long been ſuſpected of concealing the number of their ſubjects, with a view of defrauding Spain of the tribute theſe people had voluntarily ſubmitted to pay; and the court of Madrid hath diſcovered ſome anxiety on that account. An exact inquiry hath diſpelled thoſe injurious and ill-grounded ſuſpicions. Can it with any probability be ſuppoſed, that a ſociety, whoſe idol was always glory, ſhould, for a mean and ſordid intereſt, ſacrifice a ſenſe of greatneſs, adequate to the majeſty of an eſtabliſhment they were forming with ſo much care and pains?

Thoſe who were too well acquainted with the genius of the ſociety, to charge it with ſuch injurious and illiberal accuſations, have pretended that the number of the Guaranis did not increaſe, becauſe they periſhed by working in the mines. This accuſation, urged above a hundred years ago, hath been propagated by the ſame ſpirit of avarice, envy, and malignity, that firſt invented it. The greater pains the Spaniſh miniſtry have employed in ſearch of theſe hidden treaſures, the more they have been convinced that they were all chimerical. If the Jeſuits had diſcovered any ſuch treaſures, they certainly would have taken care to

conceal the difcovery; which, if known, would have introduced every kind of vice; by which their empire would foon have been fubverted, and their power totally deftroyed.

Others are of opinion, that the oppreffion of monkifh government muft have checked the population of the Guaranis. But oppreffion confifts in impofing labour and exacting tribute by compulfion; in arbitrary levies of men or money to fupply armies and fleets, deftined for deftruction; in the violent execution of laws made without the confent of the people, and contrary to the remonftrances of the magiftrates; in the violation of public, and the eftablifhment of private privilege; in the inconfiftency of the principles of an authority, which, under pretence of being founded by divine will on the right of the fword, lays claim to every thing by the one, and commands every thing by the other; which makes ufe of force to eftablifh religion, and of religion to influence the decifions of juftice: this is oppreffion. But it can never exift, where every action is the refult of voluntary fubmiffion, and proceeds from inclination founded on conviction, and where nothing is done but from choice and full approbation. This is that gentle fway of opinion, the only one, perhaps, that it is lawful for one man to exercife over another, becaufe it makes thofe people happy who fubmit to it. Such, undoubtedly, was that of the Jefuits in Paraguay, fince whole nations came voluntarily to incorporate themfelves into their government, and none have ever thrown off the yoke. It cannot be pretended that fifty miffionaries could have been able to compel a hundred thoufand Indians to be their flaves, who had it in their power either to maffacre their priefts, or to take refuge in the deferts. This ftrange paradox would be equally rejected by men of a fanguine or of a credulous difpofition.

Some perfons have fufpected that the Jefuits had propagated that love of celibacy among their people, which was fo prevalent in Europe in the dark ages of

ignorance, and is not yet entirely eradicated, notwithſtanding it hath conſtantly been urged how contrary it is to nature, reaſon, and ſociety. But this opinion is entirely without foundation. The miſſionaries have never even given any idea to their converts of a ſuperſtition which was totally improper and inconſiſtent with the climate; and would have been ſufficient to prejudice them againſt their beſt inſtitutions, or to defeat the deſign of them.

Politicians have further endeavoured to account for the want of population among the Guaranis, from their having no property. The idea under which we conſider property, namely, as a ſource of the increaſe both of men and ſubſiſtence, is an unqueſtionable truth; but ſuch is the fate of the beſt inſtitutions, that our errors will often threaten their deſtruction. Under the law of property, when it is attended with avarice, ambition, luxury, a multitude of imaginary wants, and various other irregularities ariſing from the imperfections of our governments, and from the bounds of our poſſeſſions, either too confined, or too extended, prevent, at the ſame time, both the fertility of our lands and the increaſe of our ſpecies. Theſe inconveniencies exiſted not in Paraguay. All were ſure of ſubſiſtence; conſequently all enjoyed the great advantages of property, though deprived, in a ſtrict ſenſe, of the right to it. This privation cannot juſtly be conſidered as the reaſon that hath impeded the progreſs of population among them.

A mercenary writer, or one who is blinded by his hatred, hath ventured to publiſh, lately, in the face of the whole univerſe, that the territory occupied by the Guaranis could not ſubſiſt more than the number of men who exiſted upon it, and that their miſſionaries, rather than ſuffer them to extend themſelves ſo as to have an intercourſe with the Spaniards, had themſelves ſtopped the progreſs of population, by perſuading, as it is ſaid, their converts to let their children periſh, becauſe they would be ſo many beings predeſtined to ſalvation, and ſo many protectors to them.

BOOK VIII. Man or devil! whichever thou art, hast thou reflected upon the atrociousness and the extravagance of thy accusation? Hast thou any idea of the insult thou hast offered to thy rulers, and to thy fellow-citizens, in supposing that thou shouldst obtain their favour or their esteem by such aspersions? How much must thy nation have degenerated from the dignity and generosity of its character, if it did not partake of my indignation upon this occasion!

To the chimerical notions we have been refuting, let us endeavour to substitute the real, or the probable causes of this deficiency of population.

First, the Portuguese of St. Paul, in 1631, destroyed twelve or thirteen communities in the province of Guayra, bordering upon Brazil. These ruffians, whose number did not amount to more than two hundred and seventy-five, could not indeed bring away more than nine hundred of the twenty-two thousand Guaranis that composed this rising colony: but several of them were destroyed by misery and by the sword. Several of them returned to their savage life. Scarce twelve thousand of them escaped upon the borders of the Parana and of the Urugua, where it had been resolved to fix them.

The passion which the devastators had for making slaves was not stifled by this emigration. They pursued their timid victims into their new asylum; and, in process of time, would have dispersed, enslaved, or assassinated all of them, unless the Indians could be supplied with arms similar to those of their aggressors.

It was a nice matter to make this proposal: for it was a maxim with Spain not to introduce the use of fire-arms among the ancient inhabitants of the other hemisphere, in the apprehension that they might one day use them themselves to recover their primitive rights. The Jesuits approved of this precaution, as being necessary with nations whose subjection was compelled: but they judged it to be useless with people, who were firmly attached to the kings of Spain by such easy bands, that they could be under no temptation of

breaking them. The arguments or the ſolicitations of the miſſionaries prevailed over oppoſition and prejudice. In 1639 fire-locks were given to the Guaranis, and this favour delivered them for ever from the greateſt of dangers they could incur.

This cauſe of deſtruction was ſucceeded by others of a more obſcure nature. The cuſtom had prevailed, to ſend annually, to the diſtance of two or three hundred leagues from their frontiers, ſome of the inhabitants of the villages to collect the herb of Paraguay, for which they were known to have an unſurmountable deſire. In theſe long and fatiguing journeys, ſeveral of them periſhed with hunger and fatigue. Sometimes, during their abſence, their plantations, deprived of moſt of their defenders, were laid waſte by wandering ſavages. Theſe defects were ſcarce corrected before the miſſions were afflicted with a new calamity.

An unfortunate concurrence of circumſtances brought among them the ſmall-pox; the baneful influence of which was more deſtructive in this diſtrict than in the reſt of the New World. This contagion did not diminiſh, and continued uninterruptedly to heap one victim upon another. Were the Jeſuits ignorant of the ſalutary effects of inoculation upon the borders of the Amazon, or did they, from motives of ſuperſtition, decline to adopt a practice, the advantages of which are ſo well aſcertained?

But it was the climate which more particularly ſtopped the progreſs of population among the Guaranis. The country they occupied, chiefly on the Parana, was hot, damp, and inceſſantly covered with thick and immoveable fogs. Theſe vapours gave riſe, in every ſeaſon, to contagious diſorders; and theſe calamities were aggravated by the propenſities of the inhabitants. Inheriting the voracious appetites which their fathers had brought with them from the midſt of the foreſt, they fed upon green fruit, and ate meat that was almoſt raw, while neither reaſon, nor authority, nor experience, could root out theſe inveterate habits. The maſs

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of blood being thus corrupted by the air and by the food, it was impoſſible that a numerous and long-lived offspring ſhould be produced.

Examination of the reproaches made to the Jeſuits concerning their miſſions.

In order to enſure the felicity of the Guaranis, whatever their number were, or might be, their inſtitutors had originally ſettled with the court of Madrid, that theſe people ſhould never be employed in the labours of the mines, nor ſubjected to any vaſſalage. They ſoon found that this firſt ſtipulation was not ſufficient to procure tranquillity to the new republics, and occaſioned it to be decreed, that the Spaniards ſhould be excluded from them, under whatever denomination they preſented themſelves. They foreſaw, that if they were admitted as traders, or even as travellers, they would excite commotions in thoſe peaceable retreats, and would introduce vice and every ſpecies of corruption. Theſe rapacious and deſtructive conquerors were the more offended at theſe meaſures, as they were approved by prudent men. Their reſentment broke out in imputations, for which there was an apparent, and, perhaps, a real foundation.

The miſſionaries traded for the nation. They ſent to Buenos-Ayres wax, tobacco, hides, cotton both raw and ſpun, and received in exchange, vaſes and ornaments for the temples; iron, arms, toys, ſome European commodities that were not manufactured in the colony; and metals deſigned for the payment of the tribute due from the male Indians from twenty to fifty years of age. As far as it is poſſible to judge, and penetrate into the myſtery which hath always ſurrounded theſe objects, the wants of the ſtate did not abſorb the entire profit of the ſales. The reſt was ſecreted for the benefit of the Jeſuits. Accordingly, they were traduced in all parts of the world as a ſociety of merchants, who, under the veil of religion, attended only to their own ſordid intereſt.

This cenſure could not fall upon the firſt founders of Paraguay. The deſerts through which they travelled afforded neither gold nor mercantile commodities. In theſe they only met with foreſts, ſerpents, and mo-

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raſſes; ſometimes they periſhed, or were expoſed to the moſt ſevere torments, and always to exceſſive fatigue. The hardſhips they endured with much patience, and the pains they took to induce the ſavages to quit their roving life, are not to be conceived. They never entertained the idea of appropriating to themſelves the produce of a land, which their care only prevented from being a haunt of wild beaſts. Their ſucceſſors may probably have been actuated by leſs noble and diſintereſted views; probably they might ſeek an increaſe of fortune and power, where they ought to have only ſought the glory of Chriſtianity and the good of mankind. It was certainly a great crime to rob the people of America, in order to acquire conſequence in Europe, and to increaſe over the whole world an influence already too dangerous. If any thing could diminiſh our abhorrence of ſo great a crime, it is, that the happineſs of the Indians was never affected by it. They never appeared to deſire any thing beyond thoſe conveniences which they generally enjoyed.

Thoſe who have not accuſed the Jeſuits of avarice have cenſured their inſtitutions in Paraguay, as being the effect of blind ſuperſtition. If our idea of ſuperſtition be the true one, it retards the progreſs of population; it devotes to uſeleſs ceremonies the time that ſhould be employed in the labours of ſociety; it deprives the laborious man of his property, to enrich the indolent and dangerous recluſe; it promotes diſcord and civil wars for things of little moment; it gives the ſignal for revolt in the name of God; it frees its miniſters from obedience to the laws, and from the duties of ſociety: in a word, it makes the people miſerable, and arms the wicked againſt the virtuous. Have any of theſe calamities been found among the Guaranis? If their happy inſtitutions be the effect of ſuperſtition, this is the only inſtance in which it ever was beneficial to mankind.

Politicians, who are ever reſtleſs and ſuſpicious, ſeemed to be apprehenſive that the republics formed by the

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Jesuits might one day detach themselves from the power under the protection of which they had been raised. The inhabitants appeared to them as the best disciplined soldiers of the New Hemisphere. They considered them as obedient from a principle of religion, added to the energy of their new manners, and as fighting with the same zeal that brought so many martyrs to the scaffold, and overthrew so many empires by the arms of the followers of Wodin and Mohammed. But it was their form of government which particularly excited their alarms.

In ancient forms of government, civil and religious authority, which are derived from the same source, and tend to the same end, have always been united; or the one hath been so subservient to the other, that the people could not venture to separate them in idea, and were equally kept in awe by both. Christianity introduced another kind of spirit in Europe, and formed, at its first origin, a secret rivalship between these two powers, the one of arms, the other of opinion. This disposition manifested itself particularly when the barbarous nations of the north made incursions upon the Roman empire. The Christians, persecuted by the heathen emperors, hastened to implore the assistance of these foreigners against oppression. They preached to these conquerors a new system of religion, which enjoined to them as a duty to extirpate the established one; and they demanded the ruins of the temples, in order to erect their own sanctuaries upon these magnificent spoils.

The savages freely disposed of what was not their property; they sacrificed to Christianity all its enemies and their own; they seized upon the persons of men and upon their lands, and distributed some of them to the church. They demanded tribute; but exempted the clergy from it, because they countenanced their usurpations. Noblemen became priests, and priests obtained the rank of nobility. The great connected the privileges of their birth with that of the priesthood which they embraced. The bishops imprinted

the seal of religion on the domains they possessed. From this mixture and confusion of birth with high stations, of titles with estates, and of persons with things, sprang up a monstrous power, which, from the first, endeavoured to establish itself as distinct from the only true authority, which is that of government; a power, which afterwards attempted even to raise itself above government; but having been unsuccessful in the attempt, hath since submitted to separate itself from it, and to exert its authority in secret over those who were willing to acknowledge it. These two powers have been always so much at variance, that they have constantly disturbed the harmony of all states.

The Jesuits of Paraguay, who were well acquainted with this source of division, have been warned by the mischief their society hath often done in Europe, and have exerted themselves to promote the real happiness of America. They have united both powers in one; which gave them the entire disposal of the thoughts, affections, and faculties of their converts.

Whether the people were happy in these missions, and whether they have regretted their legislators?

Did such a system of government render the legislators formidable? Some persons thought so in the New World; and this opinion was much more prevalent in the Old one: but in all parts, the necessary information was wanting to decide the point. The readiness, perhaps unexpected, with which the missionaries have evacuated what was called their empire, hath seemed to show that they were incapable of maintaining themselves in it. They have even been less regretted there than it was thought they would be. It is not that these people had any cause to complain of the negligence or severity of their leaders. An indifference so extraordinary, proceeded undoubtedly from the wearisomeness which these Americans, apparently so happy, must have experienced, during the course of a life too uniform not to be languid, and under a government which, when considered in its true point of view, resembled rather a religious community than a political institution.

How was it possible that a whole nation should live

BOOK VIII. without reluctance under the restraint of an austere law, which is not capable of subjecting a small number of men, although they may have put themselves under its controul from a spirit of enthusiasm, and from the most sublime motives, without inspiring them with melancholy, and without souring their tempers? The Guaranis were a species of monks; and there is not, perhaps, a single monk, who at some time or other hath not detested his habit. Their duties were tyrannically enforced, no fault escaped punishment, and order established its controul in the midst of pleasures. The Guaranis, whose conduct was closely inspected even in their amusements, could not give themselves up to any kind of excess. Noisy mirth and freedom were banished from these melancholy festivals. These manners were too austere. The state of equality to which these people were reduced, and from which it was impossible they should raise themselves, expelled every kind of emulation from among them. One Guaranis had no sort of motive to induce him to excel another. He had acted sufficiently well, when there was no cause of complaint against him, and when he could not be punished for having done ill. Did not also the privation of all property exert some influence over the most tender connections? It is not enough for the happiness of man that he should have what is sufficient for him; he must also have something to bestow. A Guaranis could not be a benefactor to his wife, his children, his relations, his friends, or his countrymen; neither could any of these do good for him. He felt no kind of appetency. If he was without vice, he was also without virtue; he neither loved nor was beloved. A Guaranis with passions would have been the most wretched of beings; and a man without them exists not, either in the midst of forests, in society, or in a cell. There is no passion but that of love, which, being irritated and increased by restraint, could possibly find its advantage in them. But can it be supposed that the Guaranis retained nothing of the sense of their savage state of liberty? Let

the reader take no account of what hath been written, and reflect only upon the few lines I now ſhall add. The Guaranis had never any thing but very confuſed ideas of what they owed to the care of their legiſlators, while they, in the moſt lively manner, were continually ſenſible of their deſpotiſm. At the time that they were expelled, theſe people readily perſuaded themſelves that they ſhould be free, and that their happineſs would not be diminiſhed by it. All kind of authority is more or leſs odious; and this is the reaſon why all maſters, without exception, are paid with ingratitude from their ſervants.

Preliminary ſteps taken by the court of Spain for the government of theſe miſſions.

When the miſſions of Paraguay were taken out of the hands of the Jeſuits in 1768, they were arrived, perhaps, to the higheſt degree of civilization to which it is poſſible to bring recent nations, and which was certainly very ſuperior to every thing that exiſted in the reſt of the New Hemiſphere. The laws were obſerved; an exact police was eſtabliſhed; the manners were pure; and all the inhabitants were united by brotherly love. All the arts of neceſſity were improved, and ſome of thoſe of luxury were known. Plenty was univerſal, and the public ſtores were filled. The number of horned cattle amounted to ſeven hundred and ſixty-nine thouſand three hundred and fifty-three, that of mules and horſes to ninety-four thouſand nine hundred and eighty-three, and that of ſheep to two hundred and twenty-one thouſand five hundred and thirty-ſeven, without reckoning other domeſtic animals.

Authority, which had been hitherto concentrated in the ſame hands, was divided. A chief, to whom three lieutenants were given, was charged with the government of the country. Every thing that concerned religion was committed to the care of the monks of the orders of Saint Dominic, Saint Francis, and La Merci.

This is the only change that hath been hitherto made in the former arrangements. The court of Madrid certainly wiſhed to examine whether the order

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that was eſtabliſhed was to be maintained or altered? Attempts have been made to perſuade them to withdraw the Guaranis from a diſtrict rather unwholeſome, and not ſufficiently fertile, in order to people with them the uninhabited borders of the Rio Plata, from Buenos Ayres to Aſſumption. If this plan be adopted, and that the people ſhould refuſe to quit the land of their forefathers, they will be reduced to the neceſſity of diſperſing themſelves; if they ſhould accede to the views of Spain, they will no longer form a national body. Whatever may happen, the moſt beautiful edifice that has been raiſed in the New World will be overthrown.

But this is enough, and perhaps too much, upon the circumſtances and revolutions, more or leſs important, which have agitated Spaniſh America during the courſe of three centuries. It is time to aſcend to the principles which directed the foundation of this great empire, and to trace, without malignity as without flattery, the conſequences of a ſyſtem of which antiquity hath not left, and could not poſſibly leave, any model. We ſhall begin, by giving an account of the ſeveral ſpecies of men which are at preſent collected in this immenſe region.

People who inhabit Spaniſh America; and firſt of the Chapetons.

We ſhall not reckon among the inhabitants of the New Hemiſphere either the commanders who are commiſſioned to give them laws, or the troops deſtined to protect and contain them, or the merchants employed in ſupplying their wants. Theſe ſeveral orders of men do not ſettle in America, but return all of them to Europe after a ſhorter or a longer ſtay. Among the perſons ſent by public authority, there are ſcarce any, except a few magiſtrates, and a few ſubaltern directors, who fix themſelves in theſe diſtant regions. The law prohibits every citizen from going there without the conſent of government; but men who are known eaſily obtain this permiſſion, and obſcure perſons frequently go there clandeſtinely. Individuals are powerfully ſtimulated to this emigration, by the hope of making a large fortune, and ſometimes alſo by the

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certainty of acquiring a degree of consideration which they would not have enjoyed in the place of their origin. It is sufficient to be born in Spain, to obtain distinguished marks of respect; but this advantage is not transmitted. The children that are brought forth in this other world are not honoured with the name of *Chapetons*, as their fathers were; they are simply called *Creoles*.

The Creoles.

This is the name given to those who are of Spanish issue in the New Hemisphere. Many of them descend from the first conquerors, or their immediate successors; and others have had illustrious ancestors. Most of them have purchased or obtained distinguished titles; but few of them have directed the great springs of government. Whether the court thought them incapable of application, or whether they were apprehensive they should prefer the interest of their own to that of the mother-country, they excluded them early from places of trust, and seldom deviated from this system, whether it were a proper or an improper one. This contempt, or this mistrust, discouraged them, and they lost, in the vices arising from idleness, from the heat of the climate, and from the abundance of all things, the remainder of that elevation of mind, of which such great examples had been left them. A barbarous luxury, pleasures of a shameful kind, a stupid superstition, and romantic intrigues, completed the degradation of their character. One road still remained open to the ambition of these colonists, who are in some measure proscribed upon their native land. The court, the army, the courts of justice, and the church, are pursuits of greater or less estimation in Spain, which they are at liberty to follow. A very small number, however, have entered into them, either because their minds are entirely corrupted, or because the distance renders the access to them difficult. Some of less distinguished birth have turned, even in America, their activity and their faculties to the great operations of trade; and these have been the most prudent and the most useful.

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The Mestees.

The same superiority which the Chapetons affected over the Creoles, the latter assumed over the Mestees. These are the race proceeding from a European with an Indian woman. The Spaniards, who, at the first period of the discovery, landed in the New World, had no women with them. Some of the most considerable of them waited till women were sent from Europe. Most of them plighted their faith to the most distinguished or the most agreeable girls of the country. Frequently even they became mothers without being married. The law ordained, that these children, legitimate or illegitimate, should enjoy the same privileges as their fathers; but prejudice placed them in a lower rank. It is scarcely till after three generations, that is to say, when their complexion differs in nothing from that of the white men, who are all very dark, that, in the ordinary course of civil life, they are treated as the other Creoles are. Before they can attain to so flattering an equality, these Mestees, who are every where very numerous, and whose species is uninterruptedly renewed, were mostly employed in the mechanic arts, and in the minuter details of trade. When they have acquired a greater share of dignity, they are still obliged to continue the same labours, till some fortunate alliance, or some particular circumstance, enables them to pass their useless days in pleasure and idleness.

The Negroes.

Scarce had the New World been discovered, when Negroes were brought into it, in 1503. Eight years afterwards, a greater number of them was introduced, because experience had shown that they were infinitely better calculated for all the labours than the natives of the country. The government soon prohibited them, from an apprehension that they would corrupt the Americans, and incite them to revolt. Las Casas, who was deficient in proper notions concerning the rights of mankind, but who was incessantly employed in the relief of the Indians, to whom he was attached, obtained the revocation of a law, which he thought would be injurious to them. Charles V. permitted

in 1517, that four thousand of these slaves should be conveyed into the Spanish colonies; and the Flemish courtier, who had obtained the profit of this traffic, sold his privilege to the Genoese.

At the expiration of this grant, this vile commerce ceased almost entirely; but the Portuguese, having become subjects of the court of Madrid, revived it. It fell again, after these people had shaken off the yoke which they bore with so much impatience, and did not recover any activity, till the two nations came to be upon better terms with each other. At length, the subjects of the court of Lisbon engaged, in 1696, to furnish, in five years time, twenty-five thousand Negroes to their former tyrants; and they fulfilled this engagement with the assistance of their sovereign, who advanced two-thirds of the funds required for an undertaking which was then so considerable.

The French, who had just been giving a king to Spain, too lightly took upon themselves, in 1702, the engagements of the Portuguese. Being deficient in settlements on the coast of Africa, little skilled in maritime operations, and having been unfortunate in the course of a long war, they did nothing of what they had so boldly promised.

This contract passed into the hands of the English at the peace of Utrecht. The South Sea Company, to whom the British ministry gave it up, engaged to deliver, each of the thirty years that their charter was to last, four thousand eight hundred Africans to the Spanish settlements. They were confined to this number during the five last years of their grant; but all the rest of the time they were allowed to introduce as many as they could sell. They engaged to pay thirty-three piastres and one-third, or one hundred and eighty livres [7l. 10s.], for each of the first four thousand Negroes; the other eight hundred were freed from this burdensome tribute, in indemnity for 1,080,000 livres [45,000l.] advanced to the court of Madrid, and which were only to be reimbursed in the course of ten years. This tribute was reduced to half for all

BOOK VIII. the ſlaves that were not required by the contract. Philip V. indemnified himſelf for this ſacrifice, by reſerving the fourth part of the profits made by the Company. The execution of this treaty was only interrupted by the hoſtilities which, in 1739, divided the two kingdoms. The peace of 1748 reſtored to the crown of England all its rights; but the Company which repreſented it were induced, by an indemnity that was offered to them, to give up the ſhort remains of a grant, which they foreſaw they ſhould not be allowed to enjoy without conſiderable reſtrictions.

Robert Mayne, a merchant of London, ſucceeded, under a Spaniſh name, to the Aſſociation. Such was the diſhoneſty or the negligence of the agents whom he had ſettled at Buenos-Ayres, which was become the ſtaple of the trade, that in 1752 he was ruined, and obliged to give up an undertaking, which, if more prudently managed, or more carefully attended to, ought to have yielded very conſiderable profits.

The reſolution was then taken to receive ſlaves at Porto Rico, which were to pay to government two hundred and ſixteen livres [9l.] each, and which, after having defrayed this heavy tax, were freely admitted upon the continent and in the iſlands. The Engliſh, who had treated with the governor of Cuba, fulfilled their engagements punctually, when the court of Madrid thought a change of ſyſtem would be better calculated for their intereſt.

In 1765, an aſſociation was formed between ſome Spaniſh, French, and Genoeſe commercial houſes, ſettled at Cadiz. This Company, which was ill ſerved by its agents, and much loaded with debt, was going to be diſſolved, when, in 1773, the miniſtry thought it prudent and equitable to offer ſome alleviation of the terms they had at firſt impoſed upon it. The charter was prolonged, and the taxes diminiſhed; and, from that period, the importation of ſlaves hath acquired freſh activity. They are bought indiſcriminately in all places where they can be procured to the beſt advantage.

Savage Europeans! ye doubted at firſt whether the inhabitants of the regions you had juſt diſcovered were not animals which you might ſlay without remorſe, becauſe they were black, and you were white. You almoſt envied them the knowledge of God, your common Father. Moſt horrid thought! But when you had permitted them alſo to raiſe their hands and eyes to heaven; when you had initiated them in your ceremonies and myſteries; made them join in your prayers and offerings, and in the hopes of a future ſtate, afforded by one common religion; when you had acknowledged them to be your brethren; was not the general horror redoubled, at ſeeing you trample under foot the ties of this ſacred conſanguinity? You have put them more upon an equality with yourſelves; and yet you go to diſtant parts in order to buy and ſell them! You ſell them, too, as you would a baſe herd of cattle! In order to repeople one part of the globe, which you have laid waſte, you corrupt and depopulate another. If death be preferable to ſlavery, are ye not ſtill more inhuman upon the coaſts of Africa than you have been in the regions of America? Engliſh, French, Spaniards, Dutch, or Portugueſe, let me ſuppoſe that I am converſing with one of you about a treaty concluded between two civilized nations; and that I ſhould aſk him, what kind of compenſation he imagines may have been agreed upon in the exchange you have made? He will think it to conſiſt in gold, proviſions, privileges, a town, or a province; while, on the contrary, it conſiſts in a greater or leſs number of your fellow-creatures, which the one gives up to the other, to diſpoſe of at pleaſure. But ſuch is the infamy of this unnatural contract, that it doth not even preſent itſelf to the ideas of the contracting parties.

Every thing announces that the court of Spain will ſhake off the dependence they had upon foreign nations for their ſlaves. This is the only view they can poſſibly have had, in requiring of Portugal, in

BOOK VIII. 1771, the cession of two of their islands on the African coast.

Laborious cultivations, and some mines of a particular kind, have employed part of the slaves introduced upon the Spanish continent in the New World. The service of the rich hath been the destiny of the greater number. These have soon become the confidents of their masters pleasures; and by this infamous employment they have gained their liberty. Their descendants have allied themselves sometimes with the Europeans, and sometimes with the Mexicans, and have formed the vigorous and numerous race of the Mulattoes, which, as that of the Mestees, but two or three generations later, acquires the colour and the rank of white people. Those among them who are still in slavery have assumed a determined superiority over the wretched and poor. This superiority they owe to the favour granted to them by government. For this reason, the Africans, who, in the settlements of other nations, are the enemies of the white people, are become their defenders in the Spanish Indies.

But why should the favour of government be bestowed upon the slave that was bought, in preference to the slave that was conquered? It is, because the injury done to the latter was of more ancient date, and greater than the injury done to the former; that the latter was accustomed to the yoke, and that the former was to be broken to it; and that the slave of a master, whom a system of policy hath made master of a slave, is brought, by this distinction, to take part with the common tyrant. If the African, who is the defender of the white people in the Spanish Indies, hath been their enemy in all other parts, it is because in all other parts he hath always obeyed, and never commanded; it is, because he was not comforted in his situation by the sight of one more wretched than his own. In the Spanish Indies, the African is alternately slave and master; in the settlements of other nations, he is perpetually a slave.

BOOK VIII.

Ancient and present state of the Indies.

The Indians form the last class of inhabitants, in a country which belonged entirely to their ancestors. The misfortunes of these people began even at the era of the discovery. Columbus distributed lands at first to those who accompanied him, and attached some natives of the country to them in 1499. This arrangement was not approved of by the court, who, three years after, sent Ovando to St. Domingo, to restore these wretched people to liberty. This new commander, barbarous as he was, complied with the will of his sovereigns: but the indolence of the Americans, and the complaints of the Spaniards, soon determined him to put those whom he had set free again into chains, and to add still a greater number to them. But he decreed, that these slaves should reap some advantage from their labour, whether they were employed in the culture of the lands, or the working of the mines. In 1504, this arrangement was confirmed by Ferdinand and Isabella, with a proviso, that the stipend should be regulated by government.

The Dominicans, who had just arrived in the colony, were incensed at an arrangement which overthrew all former principles. They refused, in the confessional chair, absolution to those individuals who solicited, or even accepted, those gifts, which were indiscriminately styled repartitions, or commanderies. They thundered out excommunications from the pulpit against the authors or promoters of these injustices. The exclamations of these monks, so much revered at that time, resounded throughout all Europe, where the custom, which they attacked with so much inveteracy, was again discussed in 1510, and was again confirmed.

In 1516, the Indians found in Las Casas a more zealous, more intrepid, and more active protector, than those who had preceded him. His solicitations determined Ximenes, who at that time governed Spain with so much splendour, to send over to America three friars to determine upon this matter, which had already been twice decided. The decrees they pro-

BOOK VIII. nounced were not ſuch as were expected from their profeſſion. They decided in favour of the commanderies, but excluded from them all the courtiers and favourites who did not reſide in the New World.

Las Caſas, who had been declared the protector of the Indians by the miniſter himſelf, and who, inveſted with this honourable title, had accompanied the delegates, returned immediately into Spain, in order to devote to public indignation men of a pious profeſſion, whom he accuſed of having ſacrificed humanity to political views. He ſucceeded in having them recalled, and Figueroa was ſubſtituted to them. This magiſtrate took the reſolution to collect, in two large villages, a conſiderable body of Indians, whom he left entirely at their own diſpoſal. The experiment did not turn out in their favour. The government concluded, from their ſtupidity and their indolence, that the Americans were children incapable of conducting themſelves; and their condition was not altered.

Nevertheleſs, the clamours of many reſpectable perſons were raiſed on all ſides againſt theſe arrangements; and the ſtates of Caſtile themſelves demanded, in 1523, that they ſhould be annulled. Charles V. yielded to all theſe ſolicitations. He forbad Cortez, who had juſt conquered Mexico, to give any commanderies, and enjoined him to revoke thoſe he might already have granted. When theſe orders arrived in New Spain, the repartitions were already ſettled as in the other colonies, and the monarch's pleaſure was not complied with.

From this, and all other countries ſubject to Caſtile, intelligence was conſtantly received, that no real or uſeful labours would be carried on in the New World, if the people who were ſubdued ſhould for a moment ceaſe to be at the diſpoſal of their conquerors. The apprehenſion of having made the diſcovery of ſo rich a hemiſphere without advantage, made a great impreſſion upon the miniſtry: but, on the other hand, the idea of having invaded one half of the globe, merely to reduce the nations to ſlavery, was another

point of view which could not fail of exciting ſome alarms in the government. In this uncertainty, commanderies were allowed or prohibited at hazard. At length, in 1536, the government adopted the medium of giving a ſanction to them for two generations. Although they had been granted only for two years before this period, they were in reality perpetual, ſince there was not a ſingle inſtance of the grant's not being renewed. The king continued to reſerve to himſelf all the Indians ſettled in the ports or in the principal towns.

The protector of theſe wretched people grew indignant at theſe ordinances. He ſpoke, he exerted himſelf, he ſummoned his nation to the tribunal of the whole univerſe, and made the two hemiſpheres ſhudder with horror. O! Las Caſas! thou waſt greater by thy humanity, than all thy countrymen were by their conqueſts. Should it happen in future ages, that theſe unfortunate regions which they have invaded ſhould be peopled again, and that a ſyſtem of laws, manners, and liberty, ſhould be eſtabliſhed among them, the firſt ſtatue they would erect would be thine. We ſhould ſee thee interpoſing between the American and the Spaniard, and preſenting thy breaſt to the poniard of the one, in order to ſave the other. We ſhould read, at the bottom of this monument, IN AN AGE OF BARBARITY, LAS CASAS, WHOM THOU SEEST, WAS A BENEVOLENT MAN. In the meanwhile thy name will remain engraved upon every feeling heart; and when thy countrymen ſhall bluſh at the barbariſm of their pretended heroes, they will take pride in thy virtues. May theſe fortunate times not be ſo far diſtant as we apprehend they are!

Charles V. enlightened by his own reflections, or prevailed upon by the impetuous eloquence of Las Caſas, ordered, in 1542, that all the commanderies which ſhould become vacant ſhould be indiſcriminately reunited to the crown. This decree was not in force in Mexico and Peru, and occaſioned a bloody and obſtinate war. The government were obliged to annul it

BOOK VIII. three years after; but authority was established with sufficient solidity in 1549, to bid defiance to all complaints, and to be no longer impeded by the fear of insurrections.

At this period, the Indians were freed from all personal services, and the tribute they were to pay to their commanders was regulated. The masters, hitherto so oppressive, were forbidden to reside in the extent of their jurisdiction, and to sleep there more than one night. They were also prohibited from having any dwelling there, from leaving their families, from possessing any lands, from breeding any cattle, and from establishing any manufactures. They were forbidden to intermix in marriage with their vassals, and to take any of them into their service. The person commissioned to collect their taxes must have the sanction of the magistrate, and must give security against any vexations he should be guilty of.

The tax imposed upon the natives of the country, to make their conquerors subsist with a degree of dignity, is not even merely a gratuitous favour. These proud masters are obliged to collect their subjects in a village, to build them a church, and to pay the clergyman appointed to instruct them. They are obliged to fix their residence in the principal town of the province, in which their commandery is situated, and to have always horses and arms in readiness to repel an enemy, whether foreign or domestic. They are not permitted to absent themselves, till they have put a soldier, approved by government, in their place.

No material alterations were made in these regulations till 1568. It was then resolved, that the commanderies, which, for thirty-two years past, had been granted for two lives, should continue to be given in the same manner; but that those, the revenue of which exceeded ten thousand eight hundred livres [450l.], should be subject to pensions. All of them were in future to be proclaimed when they became vacant, and supposing the merit of the competitors equal, to be distributed in preference to the heirs of the con-

querors, and, after them, to the defcendants of the firft colonifts. The court, perceiving that thefe rewards were more frequently diftributed by favour than by talents, or the claim of an ancient origin, ordered, in 1608, that they fhould be annulled, if the favours granted by the viceroys were not confirmed in fix years for Peru, and in five for the reft of America. The chief of the commandery, however, entered into the enjoyment of his poft as foon as he was appointed. It was only required of him to fecure the reftitution of the fums he might have received, if the choice that had been made of him were not ratified at the time prefcribed by the ordinances.

At the beginning of the laft century, the government appropriated to themfelves the third part of the revenue of the commanderies. Soon after this, they took the whole of it into their hands, and forbade their delegates to fill up thofe that fhould become vacant. At length, they were all fuppreffed in 1720, except thofe that were given in perpetuity to Cortez, and to fome hofpitals or religious communities. At this period, fo remarkable in the annals of the New World, the Indians were dependent only on the crown.

Was this fyftem the beft that could poffibly be adopted for the intereft of Spain, and the felicity of the other hemifphere? Who will be able to folve a problem, in which fo many circumftances are complicated? The rights of juftice; the fentiments of humanity; the private views of minifters; the fway of the moment; the ambition of the great; the rapacioufnefs of favourites; the projects of fpeculative men; the authority of the priefthood; the influence of the manners and of prejudice; the character of the diftant fubjects; the nature of the climate, of the foil, and of the labours; the diftance of places; the tardinefs and contempt of the fovereign's orders; the tyranny of governors; the impunity of crimes; the uncertainty of accounts and of accufations; and fuch a multitude of other different matters. We need not therefore be furprifed at the long uncertainty of the court of Ma-

BOOK VIII. drid; when, in the centre of European nations, at the foot of the throne, under the immediate inſpection of the directors of the ſtate, we ſee abuſes ſubſiſting, and often increaſing, on account of the abſurdity of meaſures. The man, with whom they were ſurrounded, was then taken for the model of the man at a diſtance; and it was imagined that the ſame ſyſtem of legiſlation which ſuited the one, was equally adapted to the other. In former times, and, perhaps, even at preſent, we confound with each other, two beings ſeparated by immenſe differences, the ſavage and the civilized man; the man born in the centre of liberty, and the man born in the ſhackles of ſlavery. The averſion of the ſavage for our cities, ariſeth from the improper manner in which we have introduced ourſelves into his foreſts.

At preſent, the Indians who have not been ſettled in the towns, are all collected in villages, which they are not permitted to quit, and where they form municipal aſſemblies, over which their cacique preſides. To each of theſe villages a territory of greater or leſs extent is attached, according to the nature of the ſoil, and the number of its inhabitants. Part of it is cultivated in common for the public neceſſities, and the reſt is diſtributed to the families for their private uſe. The law hath ordained that this domain ſhould be unalienable; ſome portions of it, however, are, from time to time, allowed to be detached from it, in favour of the Spaniards; but always with an annual charge upon it, for the profit of the ſellers, under the inſpection of government. There is no inſtitution which prevents the Indians from having lands belonging to them; but they have ſeldom the power or the inclination to make acquiſitions.

As diſgrace breaks down all the ſprings of the mind, one of the cauſes of this poverty and of this diſcouragement, muſt be the obligation impoſed upon theſe people, of being alone devoted to the public labours. The law ordains that they ſhould be paid for this humiliating labour; but the diſtance from whence they may

be brought, and the time they may be detained, depends upon the government of the ſpot.

Another duty impoſed upon the Indians, is to be at the diſpoſal of all the citizens; but merely for the manufactures, and the cultures of primary neceſſity; and this in rotation only, for eighteen days conſecutively, and for a ſalary ſettled by the ordinances.

They have ſtill a more burdenſome taſk, and that is the working of the mines. The directors were originally the ſole regulators of this taſk. It was afterwards provided for by ſtatutes, which were frequently varied. At preſent, no Indians are called to the mines, except to thoſe of Guanca Velica, and of Potoſi, which have particular privileges, who live at the diſtance of more than thirty miles: they are allowed four reals, or fifty-four ſols [about 2s. 3d.] per day; they are detained no longer than ſix months, and the ſeventh part of a colony is only employed in them at Peru, and the twenty-fifth part at Mexico. Frequently even there are a leſs number, becauſe libertiniſm, cupidity, the expectation of thieving, and, perhaps, other motives, attract there a great number of Meſtees, Mulattoes, and natives.

A tribute which the male Indians, from eighteen to fifty years of age, pay to the government, completes this multitude of calamities. This tax, which was originally paid in proviſions, is not the ſame in all parts. It is from eight to fifteen, twenty, thirty, and forty livres, [from 6s. 8d. to 12s. 10d.—16s. 8d.—1l. 5s. and 1l. 13s. 4d.] according to the different periods when, at the requeſt of the perſons who paid it, it was converted into coin. The cuſtom which prevailed with the government, of requiring always in money the value of the productions, the price of which varies with time and place, introduced theſe diſproportions, which were greater, and conſequently more deſtructive in South, than they were in North America, where the capitation is uſually of nine reals, or ſix livres one ſol ſix deniers [rather more than five ſhillings]. The fourth part of this tax is diſtributed to the clergyman,

to the cacique, and to the Spaniard, commiſſioned in each province to prevent the oppreſſion of the Indians, or kept for the purpoſe of aſſiſting the community in any of its misfortunes. Such is the legal condition of the Indians: but no one can determine how much private injuſtice adds weight to a burden already too heavy. That, among the vexations which hath moſt attracted the notice of government, hath proceeded from the officer, who is called an Alcade at Mexico, and a Corregidor at Peru.

This is a magiſtrate charged, under the inſpection of the viceroy, or of the tribunals, with the adminiſtration of juſtice; with the management of the finances, of war, of police, and of every thing that can concern public order, throughout the ſpace of thirty, forty, and fifty leagues. Although the law prohibited him, as well as the other depoſitaries of authority, from undertaking any trade; yet, from the earlieſt times, he monopolized all that was poſſible to be carried on with the Indians under his juriſdiction. As he only remained five years in office, he uſed to deliver, almoſt as ſoon as he got in, the merchandiſe he had to ſell, and employed the reſt of his time in collecting in the payments. The oppreſſion became general. The unfortunate natives of the country were always cruſhed by the enormity of the prices, and frequently by being obliged to take goods of no uſe to them, but which the tyrant himſelf had ſometimes been compelled to receive from the merchants, who afforded him a long and hazardous credit. Every thing, or almoſt every thing, was refuſed to the poor, and thoſe who enjoyed any kind of eaſe in their circumſtances were overburdened. When the payments became due, they were exacted with barbarous ſeverity, by a creditor who is at once both judge and party; and the moſt heavy penalties were inflicted upon the debtors, who failed either in the voluntary or compelled obligations they had entered into.

The humane and equitable chiefs were ſenſibly affected with theſe enormities, which were more atro-

cious and more frequent in South, than they were in North America. They thought it, however, neceſſary to tolerate them, from an idea generally entertained, that if the chain which was formed was once to be broken, theſe indolent and thoughtleſs people would be in want of clothing, of inſtruments of agriculture, of cattle neceſſary for all the labours, and that they would immediately fall into a ſtate of inaction and extreme miſery. Some prudent men endeavoured to reconcile intereſts that were ſo oppoſite to each other; but none of their ideas were found to be practicable. A ſure method of leſſening the miſchief, would have been, to put the magiſtrates, who went to ſeek, in another hemiſphere, a fortune which their native country refuſed them, upon a better footing: but the miniſtry would never conſent to this increaſe of expence. Since the year 1751, the Alcades and the Corregidors are obliged to fix upon the place of their reſidence, the goods they have to ſell, and the price they mean to put upon them. If they deviate from this rate, which is approved of by their ſuperiors, they are to loſe their places, and to reſtore the quadruple of what they have purloined. This regulation, which is rather ſtrictly attended to, hath in ſome degree diminiſhed the depredations.

Civil government eſtabliſhed by Spain in the New World.

A form of government was wanting for the ſeveral people we have been ſpeaking of; and the court of Madrid adopted that which was the moſt abſolute. The Spaniſh monarchs took all the rights and all the powers into their own hands, and entruſted the exerciſe of them to two delegates, who, under the title of viceroys, were to enjoy the prerogatives of ſovereignty during all the time of their commiſſion. They were attended in their public functions, and even in their private life, with a degree of pomp, which ſeemed calculated to increaſe the reſpect and terror which was inſpired by authority. The number of theſe diſtinguiſhed offices hath ſince been doubled, without the leaſt derogation from their dignity. Their conduct, however, as well as that of the inferior agents, was

BOOK VIII. ſubject to the cenſure of the Council for India; a tribunal erected in Europe, to govern, under the inſpection of the monarch, the conquered provinces in the New World.

In theſe diſtant countries were eſtabliſhed ten courts of juſtice, appointed to enſure the tranquillity of the citizens, and to ſettle any differences that might ariſe among them. Theſe tribunals, known by the name of Audiences, pronounced definitively upon criminal matters: but cauſes that were merely civil, and which were for more than 10,156 piaſtres, or 54,843 livres [2285l. 2s. 6d.], might be carried, by appeal, to the Council for India. The privilege granted to theſe great bodies to make remonſtrances to the depoſitaries of the royal authority, and the ſtill more conſiderable prerogative given to thoſe of the capitals to fill the duties of the vice-royalty, whenever they were vacant, raiſed them to a degree of importance, which, as magiſtrates, they would not have acquired.

Nature of the eccleſiaſtical government adopted in America.

It ſeemed more difficult to regulate the eccleſiaſtical form of government. At the period of the diſcovery of the New World, all Europe was covered with a veil of darkneſs, woven, or thickened, by the prejudices which the court of Rome had inceſſantly diffuſed, ſometimes openly, and ſometimes with cunning. Theſe ſuperſtitions were more deeply rooted, and more general in Spain, where the infidels had for ſo long a time paſt been the object of their hatred and of their wars. The ſovereigns of this kingdom, one would naturally imagine, would have eſtabliſhed beyond the ſeas the bad principles of the pontiffs who gave them another hemiſphere; but this was not the caſe. Theſe princes, more enlightened, as it ſhould ſeem, than might be expected from the age they lived in, deprived the ruler of Chriſtendom of the privilege of collating to the benefices of the church, and even of the tithes, which the prieſts had aſſumed to themſelves in all parts. Unfortunately, the prudence that had dictated this ſyſtem, was not followed by their ſucceſſors, who founded, or permitted to be founded, too great a

number of bishopricks. Numberless churches were constructed, and convents of both sexes multiplied beyond every idea of excess. Celibacy became the ruling passion in a desert country. Metals, which should have been employed in fertilizing the earth, were thrown away upon the churches. The clergy, notwithstanding their ignorance and corruption, obtained the restoration of the greatest part of those oppressive tithes which had been drawn out of their avaricious hands. America seemed now to have been conquered but for them. In the meanwhile, the inferior clergy, those who are in other parts so mild and so respectable, did not find themselves sufficiently opulent. The Indian, whom they were appointed to instruct and comfort, did not dare to appear before them without some present. They indulged him in such of his former superstitions as were of advantage to themselves; as, for instance, the custom of putting a great quantity of provisions upon the tombs of the dead. They set an exorbitant price upon their functions, and had always some pious inventions, which gave them an opportunity of exacting fresh taxes. Such a conduct had rendered their tenets generally odious. These people went to mass as they did to the labours of vassalage, execrating the barbarous strangers, who loaded their bodies and their souls with burdens equally weighty.

The scandal became public, and almost general. The secular and the regular clergy, who both of them fulfilled the same ministry, mutually accused each other of these vexations. The first described their rivals as a set of vagabonds, who had withdrawn themselves from the superintendence of their superiors, in order to follow their libertinism with impunity. The latter accused the other of their ignorance and indolence, and censured them for being wholly taken up with the education of their families. We acknowledge, with regret, that there was reason for these reproaches on both sides. The court was for a long time disturbed by the intrigues of these two cabals, which were incessantly renewed. At length they decreed, in 1757, that the

BOOK VIII.

monks ſhould occupy the benefices they held during life, but that they ſhould not be ſucceeded in them by men of the ſame profeſſion. This determination, which brings matters again into their natural order, will probably be attended with favourable conſequences.

Diſtribution of the lands in the New World at the time of the conqueſt. Mode of acquiring theſe poſſeſſions at preſent.

It was a great point, to have regulated, in the firſt inſtance, all the great ſprings of the new empire. It now remained to ſettle the deſtiny of thoſe who were to live in it. The ſovereign, who thought himſelf the legitimate poſſeſſor of all the lands of America, by right of conqueſt, and by the conceſſion of the pontiffs, cauſed ſome of them, at firſt, to be diſtributed among his ſoldiers, who had fought in the New World.

The foot ſoldier received a piece of ground of the length of one hundred feet, and of the breadth of fifty, to build upon; one thouſand eight hundred and eighty-five toiſes for garden-ground; ſeven thouſand five hundred and forty-three for his orchard; ninety-four thouſand two hundred and eighty-eight for the culture of European corn; and nine thouſand four hundred and twenty-eight for that of Indian corn; and all the extent of ground that was neceſſary to breed ten hogs, twenty goats, one hundred ſheep, twenty horned cattle, and five horſes. The cavalry man was allowed double the quantity of ground for his buildings, and the quintuple of all the reſt.

Soon after towns were conſtructed. Theſe were not left to the caprice of perſons who meant to inhabit them. The ordonnances required that they ſhould be in an agreeable ſituation, in a wholeſome air, on a fertile ſoil, abounding with waters. They regulated the poſition of the churches, the direction of the ſtreets, and the extent of the public ſquares. It was uſually ſome rich and active individual who undertook to build them, after they had obtained the ſanction of government. If the whole was not finiſhed at the ſtipulated time, he loſt all the money he had advanced, and was likewiſe indebted to the treaſury 5400 livres [225l.]. The other obligations impoſed upon him were, to find a clergyman for his church, and to ſup-

ply him with all that was required to keep up the decency of a regular form of worſhip. He was alſo obliged to collect at leaſt thirty Spaniſh inhabitants, each of whom was to have ten cows, four oxen, one mare, one ſow, twenty ſheep, one cock, and ſix hens. When theſe conditions were fulfilled, the civil and criminal juriſdictions were granted to him in the firſt inſtance for two generations, the right of appointing the municipal officers, and four leagues ſquare of territory.

Part of this great ſpace was taken up in the placing of the city, by the commons, and by the perſon who undertook the buſineſs. The reſt was divided into equal portions, which were drawn for by lot, and none of which could be alienated till after five years cultivation. Every citizen was to have as many lots as he had houſes; but his property was never to exceed what Ferdinand had originally granted at Saint Domingo to three horſemen.

Thoſe perſons who had poſſeſſions in the towns that were already founded, were excluded by law from the new ſettlements: but this ſtrict regulation did not extend to their children. All the Indians who were not detained elſewhere by engagements which they could not break, were allowed to ſettle there as ſervants, as mechanics, or as labourers.

Excluſive of the lands which were ſecured to the troops, and to the founders of towns, the chiefs of the ſeveral colonies were authoriſed to diſtribute ſome to the Spaniards who were inclined to ſettle in the New Hemiſphere. This great privilege was taken from them in 1591. Philip II. whoſe ambition engaged him in perpetual wars, and whoſe obſtinacy would never allow him to put an end to them, was not able to anſwer ſo many expences. The ſale of the lands in America, which to this period had been given away, was one of the reſources that ſuggeſted itſelf to him. His law had, even in ſome ſort, a retroactive effect, in as much as it ordered the confiſcation of all that was poſſeſſed without a legitimate title, unleſs the uſurper

BOOK VIII. ſhould conſent to redeem theſe poſſeſſions. An arrangement ſo uſeful in reality, or in appearance, to the treaſury, never received any modification at any period, nor hath it yet experienced any.

But it was a more eaſy matter to beſtow lands gratuitouſly upon ſome adventurers, or to cede them to ſuch perſons at a low price, than to induce them to make them fertile. This kind of labour was deſpiſed by the firſt Spaniards, whom their avidity had led into the Indies. The ſlow, laborious, and expenſive mode of cultivation, could ſcarce tempt men, who, in the hope of making an eaſy, brilliant, and rapid fortune, had braved the waves of an unknown ocean, and the dangers of all kinds that awaited them upon unwholeſome and barbarous coaſts. They were in haſte to enjoy; and the moſt expeditious way of doing this, was to ſeize upon the minerals. An enlightened government would have endeavoured to rectify the ideas of their ſubjects, and to give, as much as poſſible, another bent to their ambition. But the direct contrary of this took place; the error of individuals became the policy of the miniſtry; they were blind enough to prefer treaſures that are merely ſo by convention, the quantity of which could not fail of being diminiſhed, and which muſt daily loſe ſomething of their imaginary price, to riches that are inceſſantly ſpringing up afreſh, and the value of which muſt gradually increaſe in all times. This illuſion of the conquerors and of the ſovereigns threw the ſtate out of the road of proſperity, and formed the manners in America. Nothing was in eſtimation but gold or ſilver, accumulated by rapine, by oppreſſion, and by the working of the mines.

Regulations made at different periods for the working of the mines.

In the earlieſt times of the conqueſt, it was decreed, that the mines ſhould belong to the perſon who diſcovered them, provided he had them regiſtered in the tribunal neareſt to the ſpot. The government had at firſt the imprudence to have the portion of this rich ſoil, which they had reſerved for themſelves, ſearched on their own account; but they ſoon renounced this ruinous error, and contracted the habit of ceding it to

the proprietor of the reſt of the mine for a very moderate ſum. If theſe treaſures were found in cultivated parts, which ſcarce ever happened, the perſon who undertook the mine was to purchaſe the extent of ground he wanted, or to give up the hundredth part of the ore. Upon barren mountains, the proprietor was more than ſufficiently indemnified for the little damage he received, by the value which a new exertion gave to the productions cultivated in the neighbourhood.

From the moſt ancient times, the mines, of whatſoever nature they were, gave up to the treaſury in Spain the fifth of their produce. This cuſtom was carried into the New World; but in proceſs of time the government was obliged to confine itſelf to a tenth for the gold, and even in 1735, for the ſilver in Peru. They were alſo obliged, in general, to lower the price of mercury. Till the year 1761, this neceſſary agent had been ſold for 432 livres [18l.] the quintal. At this period it coſt no more than 324 [13l. 10s.], or even 216 livres [9l.], for the mines that were not abundant, or which were very expenſive in the working.

Every thing leads us to ſuppoſe, that the court of Spain will be obliged, ſooner or later, to make other ſacrifices. In proportion as the metals grow more common in commerce, they decreaſe in value, and they repreſent fewer commodities. This degradation muſt one day make the beſt mines be neglected, as it hath ſucceſſively made the middling ones to have been abandoned, unleſs the burden of thoſe who work them be alleviated. The time, perhaps, is not far diſtant, when the Spaniſh miniſtry muſt be contented with two reals, or one livre ſeven ſols [about 1s. 1½d.], which they receive per mark for the ſtamp and for the coinage.

The circumſtance that might give great weight to theſe conjectures is, that there are ſcarce any men, except thoſe whoſe affairs are in a doubtful or ruinous ſituation, who venture the taking of a part in the mines. If it ſhould ſometimes happen, that a rich merchant

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ſhould be ſtimulated to it by an unbounded avidity, he doth it always under the veil of the moſt impenetrable ſecrecy. The bold ſpeculator may conſent to expoſe his fortune, but never his name. He is well aware, that, if his engagements were known, his reputation and his credit would be inevitably loſt. It is not till his raſhneſs hath been crowned with the moſt brilliant ſucceſs, that he can venture to avow the riſks he hath run.

Taxes eſtabliſhed in Spaniſh America.

When the government ſhall be obliged to give up the duties they yet receive from the metals, they will ſtill have conſiderable revenues for the expences of ſovereignty. The principal of theſe ought to have been the tithes, which Ferdinand had compelled the court of Rome to give up to him: but Charles V. from motives which it is not eaſy to conjecture, deprived himſelf of them in favour of the biſhops, the chapters, the rectors, the hoſpitals, the building of the churches; in a word, in favour of men and of eſtabliſhments, which were either too rich already, or ſoon became ſo. This prince ſcarce tranſmitted the ninth part of them to his ſucceſſors. It was neceſſary that a tribute extorted from the Indians ſhould fill up a void ſo inconſiderately made in the public treaſure. The ſuperior claſſes of ſociety were not treated with leſs management; all the New World was ſubject to the Alcavala.

This is a tax levied only upon what is ſold by wholeſale, and which doth not extend to articles of daily conſumption. It comes originally from the Moors. The Spaniards adopted it in 1341, and ſettled it at the rate of five *per cent.* It was afterwards carried up to ten, and even to fourteen: but, in 1750, arrangements were made, which brought it back to what it had been in the firſt inſtance. Philip II. after the diſaſter of that fleet, ſo well known by the pompous title of Invincible, was urged, in 1591, by his wants, to require this aſſiſtance from his poſſeſſions in America. It was at firſt only at two *per cent.*, and in 1627 it roſe to four.

Stampt paper, that mode ſo wiſely invented to ſecure the fortune of individuals, and which is become,

in all parts, one of the principles of their ruin in the hands of the treasury: stampt paper, I say, was introduced, in 1741, into all the Spanish provinces of the New World.

The monopoly of tobacco began to distress Peru in 1752, Mexico in 1754, and in the interval of these two periods, all the other parts of the hemisphere dependent on Castile.

At divers times, the crown hath appropriated to itself, in the New as well as in the Old World, the monopoly of gunpowder, lead, and cards.

The most extraordinary of all imposts, however, is the crusade. It took its rise in those ages of folly and fanaticism, when millions of Europeans went to lose their lives in the East for the recovery of Palestine. The court of Rome revived it in favour of Ferdinand, who, in 1509, wished to attack the Moors of Africa. This tax still subsists in Spain, where it is never lower than twelve sols six deniers [rather more than 6d.], and never higher than four livres [3s. 4d.]. A greater sum is paid for it in the New World, where it is only collected every two years, and where it rises from thirty-five sols to thirteen livres [from about 1s. 7d. to 11s. 8d.], according to the rank and fortunes of the citizens. For this sum the people acquire the liberty of obtaining absolution from their confessors, for such crimes as are reserved for the absolution of the pope and the bishops; they acquire the right of eating, upon days of abstinence, some kinds of prohibited food, and a multitude of indulgences for sins already committed, or for those that may be committed in future. The government do not strictly oblige their subjects to take this bull: but the priests would refuse the comforts of religion to those who should neglect or disdain it; and there is not, perhaps, in all Spanish America one man sufficiently bold, or sufficiently enlightened, to brave this ecclesiastical censure.

I will not, therefore, address myself to a set of foolish mortals, whom we should in vain advise to shake off the double yoke under which they are oppressed; and

I will not ſay to them, What! do ye not conceive that Providence, which watches over your preſervation, in preſenting you with food which is proper for you, and in perpetuating inceſſantly the appetency you have for it, meant undoubtedly to allow you the free uſe of it? If the Heavens were irritated when you eat of it in a forbidden ſeaſon, there is no power on earth that could diſpenſe with your obedience. Do ye not ſee that your ſtupid credulity is impoſed upon, and that, by an infamous kind of traffic, a being who is not greater than you are, a creature who is nothing before the face of your common Maſter, arrogates to himſelf the right of commanding you in his name, or or of freeing you from the obſervation of his orders, for a piece of money? This piece of money, doth he take it for himſelf, or doth he give it to his God? Is his God indigent? Doth he depend upon reſources, or doth he amaſs treaſures? If in the other life he be a rewarder of virtue, and an avenger of crimes, neither the gold which you have given, nor the abſolution which you ſhall have purchaſed with that gold, will have any effect upon the ſcale. If his venal juſtice ſhould admit of corruption, he would be as vile and as contemptible as thoſe who are ſeated in your tribunals. If his repreſentative had the ſame power for himſelf as he hath perſuaded you that he hath for you, he might be the moſt wicked of mankind with impunity, ſince there is not any crime which he would not have it in his power to pardon. Neither will I addreſs myſelf to the ſubaltern miniſters of this proud chief, becauſe they have a common intereſt with him; and that, inſtead of anſwering me, they would light up the ſtake under my feet. But I will addreſs myſelf to the chief himſelf, and to the whole body over which he preſides, and I will tell them:

It is time you ſhould renounce this unworthy monopoly, which diſgraces you, and which diſhonours both the God whom you preach, and the religion which you profeſs. Simplify your doctrine, and purge it from abſurdities. Abandon, with a good grace, all

the poſts from which you will be driven. The world is too enlightened to be any longer gulled with incomprehenſibilities that are repugnant to reaſon, or to give credit to miraculous falſehoods, being common to all religions, cannot be admitted as proofs for any one. Return to a practicable and ſocial ſyſtem of morality. Let the reformation of your theology be followed by that of your manners. Since you enjoy the privileges of ſociety, partake of the burdens of it. Do not any longer plead your immunities againſt the efforts of an equitable miniſtry, who would wiſh to bring you back to the general condition of other citizens. Your ſpirit of intoleration, and the odious means by which you have acquired, and ſtill continue to heap up riches upon riches, have done more injury to your opinions, than all the arguments of incredulity. Had you been the appeaſers of public and domeſtic troubles, the advocates of the poor, the ſupport of the perſecuted, the mediators between the huſband and the wife, between fathers and children; had you been, among citizens, the organs of the law, the friends of the throne, and co-operators with the magiſtrate; however abſurd your tenets had been, mankind would have been ſilent. No one would have ventured to attack a claſs of men ſo uſeful and ſo reſpectable. But you have ſpread diviſions over Europe for concerns of the moſt frivolous nature. All countries have been reeking with blood, and for reaſons which at preſent we bluſh to think of. If you would reſtore to your miniſtry its former dignity, be humble, be indulgent, be even poor if it ſhould be neceſſary: for ſo your Founder was. His apoſtles, his diſciples, and their followers, who converted all the known world, were ſo likewiſe. Be neither mountebanks nor hypocrites, nor ſimoniacal, nor dealers in things which you give out as holy. Endeavour to become prieſts again; that is to ſay, delegates from the Moſt High, to preach virtue to men, and to ſhow them the example of it. And thou, Pontiff of Rome, call thyſelf no longer the ſervant of the ſervants of God, unleſs thou wilt be ſo. Conſider that

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The finances of the Spanish continent of the other hemisphere were for a long time a mystery to the ministry themselves. The chaos was in some measure cleared up by M. de la Ensenada. Each of the twelve years of his fortunate administration, the crown received from these countries, or from the duties they collected at the departure and at the return of the fleets, 17,719,448 livres 12 sols [738,310l. 7s. 2d.]. This resource of government hath since been much increased, both from the value of the new taxes, and from the strictness that hath been observed in the collecting of the old ones. At present the public revenue of Mexico amounts to 54,000,000 livres [2,250,000l.]; that of Peru, to 27,000,000 livres [1,125,000l.]; that of Guatimala, of the New Kingdom of Chili, and of Paraguay, to 9,100,000 livres [379,166l. 13s. 4d.]. This amounts in all to 90,100,000 livres [3,754,166l. 13s. 4d. The local expences absorb 56,700,000 livres [2,362,500l.]; so that there remain for the treasury 34,500,000 livres [1,437,500l.]. Add to this sum 20,584,450 livres [857,585l. 8s. 4d.], which they receive in Europe itself upon the articles sent to the colonies, or which are brought from thence, and it will be found that the court of Madrid draws annu-

ally 55,084,450 livres [2,295,185l. 8s. 4d.] from its provinces in the New World. But all these riches do not enter into the royal coffers of the mother-country. Part of them is employed in the Spanish islands in America, for the expence of sovereignty, and for the building of ships, or for the purchasing of tobacco.

Destructive principles upon which Spain first founded its connections with the New World.

Spain had scarce discovered this other hemisphere, when she conceived the idea of a system unknown to the people of antiquity, but which hath since been adopted by modern nations, that of taking into her hands all the productions of her colonies, and the whole care of supplying them with provisions. In this view the government were not satisfied with forbidding these new establishments, under capital penalties, to hold any foreign intercourse; but they carried their strictness so far, as to render all communication between them impracticable, and to prohibit them from sending any of their ships to the country from which they originally came. This spirit of jealousy soon betrayed itself in the mother-country. The ships, indeed, were at first allowed to set out from different ports; but they were all obliged to return to Seville. The wealth which this preference accumulated in this city, soon enabled it to obtain, that the ships should be dispatched from its harbour, as well as they were compelled to return to it. The river that washes its walls, not being afterwards found considerable enough to receive the ships, which had gradually increased to a certain size, it was the peninsula of Cadix which became the general staple. All foreign merchants settled in this port, which was become famous, were forbidden to take a direct part in a trade of so lucrative a nature. In vain did they represent, that as they consumed the provisions of the kingdom, as they paid the taxes, and as they encouraged agriculture, industry, and navigation, they ought to be considered as citizens. These reasons were never attended to in a court where custom was the supreme law. These active, opulent, and enlightened men, who for a long time past had alone kept up the connections between the Ancient and the New

World, were always obliged, with more diſguſt and inconvenience than one would imagine, to cover their moſt trifling tranſactions under a Spaniſh name.

The liberty of undertaking voyages to the great ſettlements that were forming on all ſides in the other hemiſphere, was even much reſtrained with regard to the natives themſelves. The government took the reſolution of regulating, every year, the number of ſhips that it was thought proper to ſend, and to fix the time of their ſetting out. It entered into their ſyſtem of politics, to render theſe voyages very unfrequent, and the permiſſion to fit out a veſſel became a very ſignal favour. In order to obtain it, the capital of the empire was filled with intrigues, and corruption was kept up in all the offices.

Under the pretence of preventing frauds, of eſtabliſhing an invariable order, and of procuring entire ſafety to ſhips that were richly laden, delays, viſitations, ſearchings, ſailors, and formalities of every kind were multiplied to ſuch a degree, both in Europe and America, that the uſeleſs expences doubled the value of ſome goods, and enhanced conſiderably that of others.

The oppreſſion of the cuſtoms completed the ruin of every thing. The articles exported to the other hemiſphere were ſubjected to ſuch duties as had never exiſted in any age, or in any part of the globe. The price even that had been given for them was taxed. The gold, on its return, paid four *per cent.* and the ſilver nine.

Reaſons why the court of Madrid perſevered in their erroneous ſyſtem.

But how was it poſſible that the court of Madrid ſhould be ſo groſsly deceived with reſpect to their intereſts; or ſtill more, how was it poſſible they ſhould perſiſt in their error? Let us endeavour, if we can, to find out the cauſes of ſo ſtrange an infatuation.

The empire of the Spaniards over the New World was eſtabliſhed in an age of ignorance and barbariſm. All the principles of government were then forgotten; and we need not certainly be ſurpriſed, that in the intoxication of their victories, a ſet of proud conquerors

ſhould not have reſtored knowledge, which had been baniſhed from Europe for ten or twelve centuries paſt.

At this period of general infatuation, the court of Madrid did not conjecture that the ſettlements they were forming in another hemiſphere would only be uſeful, in as much as they ſhould produce an encouragement of their agriculture, induſtry, and navigation. Far from making the colonies ſubordinate to the mother country, it was, in ſome meaſure, the mother-country that was ſubordinate to the colonies. Every political economy was either neglected or diſdained; and the grandeur of the monarchy was viewed only in the gold and ſilver of America. The people were ſeized with the ſame ambition, and abandoned their native country in multitudes, to go in ſearch of theſe metals. Theſe immenſe and continual emigrations, left a void in the population of the principal country, which was not filled up by the reſort of foreigners, becauſe they were inceſſantly driven from it by pride and the ſpirit of intoleration.

Spain was confirmed, by ſucceſſes which were maintained rather for a long time, in the falſe road ſhe had at firſt marked out for herſelf. An aſcendency, which ſhe owed to circumſtances alone, appeared to her to be a neceſſary conſequence of her adminiſtration and her maxims.

The calamities which afterwards invaded this kingdom on all ſides might poſſibly have enlightened it. An almoſt continued ſeries of wars, ſome more fatal than others, deprived it of the tranquillity neceſſary to examine into the defects of a ſyſtem which had been uninterruptedly purſued with the greateſt ſecurity.

The knowledge ſucceſſively acquired, or diffuſed by other nations, was very well calculated to refute and diſſipate the errors of Spain. Whether from pride or jealouſy, this nation obſtinately rejected the lights it might have obtained from its rivals or its neighbours.

In default of foreign aids, the Spaniards, born with a ſpirit of reflection, and with penetrating ſagacity,

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might have discovered many circumstances of consequence to their prosperity. This kind of genius, which was fit for every thing, unfortunately turned itself towards contemplations which could not but increase their mistakes.

To fill up the measure of these misfortunes, the court of Madrid had, from early times, imposed a law upon themselves, to support the measures they had followed, in order that they might not be suspected of having lightly taken a resolution. Events, however disgraceful they were, did not disgust them of these politics in their connections with America; and they were confirmed in them, by the combined or separate suffrages of a multitude of corrupt or dishonest agents, who ensured their own private fortune by the keeping up of universal confusion.

Consequences which the fatal combinations of the Spanish ministry were attended with even in the mother-country.

The mischief, however, was not felt from the first, although some celebrated writers have asserted this with confidence. According to their opinion, Spain, seeing herself the mistress of America, voluntarily renounced her manufactures and her agriculture. Such an extravagant idea never entered into the system of any nation. At the period when the other hemisphere was discovered, Seville was celebrated for its silk manufactures; the woollens of Segovia were esteemed the finest in Europe; and the stuffs of Catalonia found an advantageous mart in Italy and in the Levant. Other openings for trade gave fresh activity to this industry, and to the cultivation of the lands, which is inseparable from it. Had it been otherwise, how is it possible that this monarchy could have invaded so many provinces; sustained so many tedious and bloody wars; paid so many foreign and national troops; equipped such numerous and formidable fleets; kept up division in the neighbouring states, and purchased traitors among them; subverted all nations by their intrigues; and given the impulse to all political events? How could they have been the first, and, perhaps, the only power of the universe?

But all these exertions occasioned an immense con-

fumption of men: feveral went over into the New World: this other hemifphere, more wealthy and more populous, required more merchandife; and hands were wanting for all the labours. Then Spain was furnifhed with fubfiftence, and her colonies were fupplied with clothing, by foreign nations, where fpecie was ftill fcarce, and, confequently, labour at a moderate price. In vain were they excluded from this traffic by ftrict regulations. Whether they were friends or foes, they carried it on without interruption, and with fuccefs, under the name of the Spaniards, whofe honefty always deferved the higheft encomiums. The government thought to remedy what they imagined to be an evil, but which was nothing more than the neceffary confequence of the ftate of things, by renewing the ancient prohibition of exporting either gold or filver. At Seville, and afterwards at Cadix, fome bravoes, called *Metedores*, carried the ingots upon the ramparts, and threw them over to other Metedores, who were to deliver them to the boats that came up to receive them. This clandeftine trade was never difturbed by excifemen, or by guards, who were all paid to fhut their eyes. More ftrictnefs would only have ferved to increafe the price of the merchandife, from the greater difficulty of obtaining the value of it. If, in conformity to the rigour of the ordonnances, any delinquent had been feized, tried, and condemned to death, and his property confifcated, fuch an atrocious act, far from preventing the exportation of the metals, would have increafed it; becaufe the perfons who had before been fatisfied with a moderate gratuity, requiring a falary proportioned to the danger they muft incur, would have increafed their profits by their rifks, and would have made a great deal of money go out, in order that they might have the more for themfelves.

Such was the ftate of Spain, when fhe herfelf voluntarily aggravated her calamities by the expulfion of the Moors.

This nation had reigned for a long time almoft over

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the whole of the peninſula. From one poſt to another, they were ſucceſſively driven to Granada; where, after a ten years continuance of a bloody war, they were again forced, in 1492, to ſubmit to the yoke. By the terms of capitulation, they were to be allowed to follow their own form of worſhip; but the conqueror, under various pretences, ſoon wiſhed to deprive them of this ſacred right; and they took up arms in order to maintain it. Fortune declared itſelf againſt theſe unfortunate Muſſulmen; and numbers of them periſhed by the ſword. Others purchaſed the right of taking refuge in Africa; and the reſt were condemned to appear Chriſtians.

This apparent compliance, with which Ferdinand and Charles choſe to be ſatisfied, did not meet with the approbation of Philip II. This perſecuting prince required that the Infidels ſhould be really of his religion. In the hope of engaging them to this more certainly, and in leſs time, he ordered, in 1568, that theſe people ſhould renounce their idiom, their names, their habits, their baths, their cuſtoms, and every thing that could diſtinguiſh them from his other ſubjects. Deſpotiſm was carried ſo far, as to forbid them from changing their reſidence, without the conſent of the magiſtrate; from marrying, without the leave of the biſhop; from bearing arms, under any pretence whatever; and even from having any in their poſſeſſion. An obſtinate reſiſtance muſt have been the conſequence of ſo blind an act of tyranny. Unfortunately, men who had no leader, no diſcipline, and no means of carrying on the war, could make none but unavailing efforts againſt numerous armies, accuſtomed to carnage, and commanded by experienced generals. The inhabitants of the towns and country places, who had entered into the rebellion, were almoſt generally exterminated. Servitude became the lot of all the priſoners of both ſexes. Thoſe even of the Moors who had remained quietly at home, were conveyed into the interior provinces of the kingdom, where they met with nothing but inſults and reproach.

This dispersion, and this humiliation, did not produce the effect that was expected. The cruelties, which were incessantly renewed by a sanguinary tribunal, were not more availing. It appeared to the clergy, that the only way remaining was to expel from the monarchy all these enemies who so obstinately persisted in their doctrines. This was accomplished in 1610, notwithstanding the opposition of some statesmen, and notwithstanding the still warmer solicitations of the grandees, who kept in their palaces, or on their domain, many slaves of the nation that was persecuted by superstition.

We find from all accounts, that this proscription deprived Spain of a million of inhabitants. Some authentic pieces, collected by Bleda, a prudent and contemporary writer, show that this number must be reduced to four hundred and twenty-nine thousand three hundred and fourteen. This was not the whole of the Moors that had escaped the fury of the wars and the fanaticism of the conquerors, or that remained from the emigrations, sometimes tolerated and sometimes clandestine. The government retained the women that were married to former Christians, whose faith was not suspicious to the bishops, and all the children under seven years of age.

In the meanwhile the state lost the twentieth part of their population, and the most laborious part, as the proscribed and persecuted sects will always be. Whatever were the occupations of these people; whether their strength was employed in the fields, in the manufactures, or in the meanest offices of society, it is certain that a great deficiency was made in the labours, as well as in the tributes collected. The burden which had been borne by the infidels fell chiefly upon the weavers. This additional weight drove many of them into Flanders and into Italy; while the rest, without quitting the country, renounced their profession. The silks of Valencia, and the fine wool of Andalusia and Castile, were no longer manufactured by the Spaniards.

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The treafury having no more manufacturers to opprefs, now oppreffed the farmers. The taxes levied upon agriculture were as ill-judged as they were various and exceffive. Befide general duties, there were what the financiers call extraordinary duties, which is a mode of levying money upon a particular clafs of citizens; a kind of tax unprofitable to the ftate, and ruinous to thofe who are taxed, and which tends only to enrich the perfon who hath contrived it. Thefe refources proved inadequate to the urgent neceffities of government, and the financiers were called upon to advance confiderable fums. At this period they became mafters of the ftate, and were empowered to farm out the feveral parts of their leafe. This introduced a multitude of agents, and with them numberlefs reftraints and oppreffions. The laws which thefe rapacious men were allowed to enact, were only fo many fnares to feduce the honeft and credulous. In procefs of time, they ufurped the fovereign authority, and found means to elude the royal tribunals, to choofe judges for themfelves, and to pay them.

The owners of the lands that were oppreffed by this tyranny, either threw up their eftates, or neglected the improvement of them. That fertile peninfula, which, though fubject to frequent droughts, ftill afforded fubfiftence to thirteen or fourteen millions of inhabitants before the difcovery of America, and had formerly been the granary of Rome and of all Italy, was foon overfpread with thorns and briars. The pernicious cuftom of fixing the price of corn was then adopted; and public granaries were eftablifhed in every province, which were confequently managed without either fkill, care, or honefty. Befides, what advantage could be expected to arife from fuch precarious refources? How could it poffibly enter into any one's thoughts, to lay reftraints upon the price of corn, in order to increafe the quantity of it; to raife the price of provifions, in order to make them cheaper; or to facilitate monopoly, in order to prevent it?

When once a nation hath begun to decline, it fel-

dom recovers itſelf. The loſs of population, of the manufactures, of trade, and of agriculture, was attended with the greateſt evils. While Europe was daily improving in knowledge, and all nations were animated with a ſpirit of induſtry, Spain was falling into a ſtate of inaction and barbariſm. The duties of the former cuſtoms, which were ſtill ſuffered to remain upon goods paſſing from one province to another, were carried to ſuch an exceſs, as to prevent all communication between them. Even the conveyance of money from one province to another was prohibited. In a ſhort time, not the leaſt ſign of a road was to be ſeen. Travellers were ſtopped at the croſſing of rivers, where there was neither bridge nor boats. There was not a ſingle canal, or one navigable river. People, the moſt ſuperſtitious in the world, with regard to the obſervance of faſt days, ſuffered their fiſheries to decline, and bought fiſh every year to the amount of twelve millions [500,000l.]. Except a few ill-built veſſels deſtined for their colonies, they had not a ſingle ſhip belonging to government in their harbours. Their coaſts lay expoſed to the depredations of the Barbary corſairs. To avoid theſe, they were obliged to freight upon foreign bottoms, even the *aviſos* they ſent to the Canary iſlands and to America. Philip IV. poſſeſſed of all the rich mines of America, at once found all his gold changed into copper, and was reduced to the neceſſity of making his copper coin bear almoſt the ſame value as that of ſilver.

Theſe were not the greateſt grievances of the monarchy. Spain, from an abſurd and ſuperſtitious veneration for the age of her conqueſts, ſcornfully rejected whatever was not practiſed in thoſe glorious days. The Spaniards ſaw all other nations growing more enlightened, more exalted, and more powerful; but thought it beneath them to copy after any one of them. An abſolute contempt for the improvements and cuſtoms of their neighbours, formed the diſtinguiſhing character of this people.

The inquiſition, that tremendous tribunal, which

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tive fluid. But in the general ferment of theological disputes, all the refuse still continued in Spain. Superstition had so blinded the nation, that they even gloried in their infatuation.

Instead of that energy which could alone animate the several parts of those wide dominions that lay too much scattered, the Spaniards were so slow in their motions, that all business was impeded. Such a variety of forms, precautions, and deliberations, were multiplied to prevent imposition, that they only put a stop to every commercial transaction.

The wars in which the Spaniards were engaged were as ill conducted as their system of politics. A population, which was hardly sufficient for the many garrisons they kept in Italy, in the Low Countries, in Africa, and in the Indies, rendered them incapable of raising an army at home. At the first breaking out of a war, they were obliged to have recourse to foreign troops. The few Spaniards who were sent to fight along with these mercenaries, were so far from being able to manage them, that their own allegiance was frequently shaken by this intercourse. They have often revolted together with the foreign troops, and ravaged the provinces that were committed to their protection.

A regular pay would infallibly have prevented, or soon put a stop to this spirit of sedition. But to provide for the payment of troops, and to keep them in that state of dependence and subordination so necessary to good discipline, government should have suppressed that multitude of useless officers, who, by their salaries and their oppressions, absorbed the greatest part of the public revenue; the most ancient rights of the crown should not have been alienated for a trifling consideration, or suffered to be invaded; nor should the royal treasures have been squandered away, to entertain spies, and to procure traitors in every country. But care should have been particularly taken, that the grandeur of the prince should not have been made to consist in granting pensions and favours to all who had

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This noble and iniquitous way of receiving alms was become general. The Spaniard, naturally generous, having acquired a ſpirit of pride, diſdained the common occupations of life, and aſpired after nothing but governments, biſhoprics, and the chief employments in the ſtate.

Thoſe who could not attain to theſe preferments, glorying in their proud inſolence, ſtill aſſumed the ſtyle of the court, and maintained as much gravity in their idleneſs, as a miniſter who was abſorbed in ſtate affairs.

Even the lower claſs of the people would have thought they defiled their victorious hands by proſtituting them to uſeful labours. They employed themſelves careleſsly, even in thoſe which were the moſt creditable, and truſted all the reſt to foreigners, who carried fortunes away with them, which ſerved to fertilize or to enrich their own country.

Men born to no property, meanly preferring idle ſlavery to laborious liberty, eagerly ſolicited to be admitted into the number of domeſtics that the great kept in their retinue, with that pomp which magnificently diſplays the pride of the moſt uſeleſs, and the degradation of the moſt neceſſary claſs of men.

Thoſe who had too much vanity remaining to live without ſome diſtinction, crowded into the convents, where ſuperſtitious men had long ſince provided a convenient retreat for their indolence, and had carried their abſurdity ſo far, as to laviſh marks of diſtinction upon them.

Even the Spaniards who had competent fortunes, languiſhed in a ſtate of celibacy, chooſing rather to give up all thoughts of poſterity, than to attend to the eſtabliſhment of it. If ſome, induced by love and virtuous motives, choſe, in imitation of the great, to enter into marriage, they ſent their ſons, in their earlier years, to be educated in the ſuperſtitious manner of the colleges; and from the age of fifteen reſigned

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them to the courtezans. The abilities and ſtrength of theſe young men being thus vitiated, they were equally enervated by theſe infamous connections, which they did not even break off when they entered into the ſacred ties of matrimony.

Out of this degenerate race were choſen the men who were to hold the reins of government. Their adminiſtration was anſwerable to their education, being a conſtant ſcene of idleneſs and corruption. They ſeldom diſcovered any ſenſe of virtue, or principles of equity, or the leaſt deſire of promoting the happineſs of their fellow-creatures. They thought only of plundering the provinces intruſted to their care, in order to diſſipate in idleneſs and profuſion at Madrid the fruits of their extortion. This conduct was always purſued with impunity, though it often occaſioned ſeditions, inſurrections, conſpiracies, and ſometimes revolutions.

Beſide theſe misfortunes, the ſtates that were united to Caſtile by marriage or conqueſt contributed to complete the ruin of the Spaniſh monarchy. The Low Countries did not afford a ſufficiency to pay the garriſons that were kept to defend them. Franche Compté ſupplied nothing; Sardinia, Sicily, and the Milaneſe, were even burdenſome to government. The tributes of Naples and Portugal were mortgaged to foreigners. Arragon, Valencia, Catalonia, Rouſſillon, the Balearic iſlands, and Navarre, pretended they owed nothing to the monarchy but a free gift, which was always ſettled by their deputies, but ſeldom to the ſatisfaction of a rapacious court, exhauſted by abſurd liberalities.

Calamities which the infatuation of the court of Spain hath accumulated on its colonies.

While the mother-country was declining, the colonies could not poſſibly flouriſh. If the Spaniards had underſtood their true intereſt, they would perhaps, on the firſt diſcovery of America, have been content with eſtabliſhing an equitable intercourſe with the Indians, which would have ſettled a mutual dependence and reciprocal profits between the two nations. The manufactures of the Old World would have been bartered for the produce of the mines of the New; and

BOOK VIII. wrought iron would have been exchanged for its weight of unwrought ſilver. A laſting union, the neceſſary conſequence of a peaceable traffic, would have been eſtabliſhed without bloodſhed or devaſtation. Spain would equally have been miſtreſs of Mexico and Peru; becauſe any nation that cultivates the arts, and does not communicate the method by which it carries them on, will always have an evident ſuperiority over thoſe to whom it ſells its manufactures.

This method of reaſoning was not adopted by the Spaniards. The eaſe with which they had ſubdued the Indians, the aſcendant which Spain had aſſumed over all Europe, the natural pride of conquerors, their ignorance of the true principles of commerce; all theſe, and various other cauſes, prevented them from eſtabliſhing in the New World a ſyſtem of government founded upon good principles.

The depopulation of America was the melancholy effect of this irregularity. The firſt ſteps of the conquerors were marked with ſtreams of blood. Aſtoniſhed as much at their own victories as the ſavages were at their defeat, and intoxicated with their ſucceſs, they reſolved to extirpate the people they had plundered. Innumerable nations diſappeared from the face of the earth at the arrival of theſe barbarians; and theſe horrid ſcenes of cruelty have been aſcribed to a thirſt of gold, and to a ſpirit of fanaticiſm.

But the ferocious diſpoſition natural to man, unreſtrained by the fear of puniſhment, or by any ſenſe of ſhame, and unawed by the preſence of civilized men, might ſo far conceal from the Spaniards the image of an organization ſimilar to their own (a ſimilarity which is the foundation of all moral duties), as to induce them to treat their new-diſcovered brethren as they did the wild beaſts of the other hemiſphere, and to do it with as little remorſe: beſides, that the cruelty ariſing from military exploits increaſes in proportion to the dangers the ſoldier hath gone through, to thoſe he now endures, or to thoſe he expects: Is he not of a more ſanguinary diſpoſition in remote countries than

at home; and do not the ſentiments of humanity grow weaker, the more diſtant we are from our native country? It may likewiſe be conjectured, that the Spaniards, who, on their firſt landing, were taken for gods, might be afraid of being detected and maſſacred; that they miſtruſted the marks of kindneſs that were ſhown them; that when once they had begun to ſhed blood, they thought their own ſafety required that they ſhould not diſcontinue; that their army, conſiſting only of a ſmall number of men, being ſurrounded by an innumerable multitude of natives, whoſe language they did not underſtand, and whoſe cuſtoms and manners they were ſtrangers to, was ſeized with a panic, either well or ill founded.

The Spaniards, the deſcendants or ſlaves of the Viſigoths, like them, divided among themſelves the deſert lands, and the men who had eſcaped their ſword. Moſt of theſe wretched creatures did not long ſurvive, doomed to a ſtate of ſlavery worſe than death. The laws that were occaſionally eſtabliſhed in order to alleviate the hardſhips of their ſervitude, afforded them but ſmall relief. The ſavage, proud, and rapacious Spaniards paid as little regard to the commands of a monarch who was too far remote from them, as to the tears of the poor miſerable Indians.

The mines proved ſtill a greater cauſe of deſtruction. Ever ſince the diſcovery of America, the Spaniards had attended only to this ſpecies of wealth. In vain did ſome men of more enlightened underſtanding exclaim againſt this infatuation. Let the gold remain where it is, ſaid they, provided the ſurface of the earth that covers it can but produce an ear of corn that will make bread, or a blade of graſs to feed your ſheep. The only metal you really want is iron. Work it into ſaws, hammers, and ploughſhares, but not into weapons of deſtruction. The quantity of gold requiſite for the purpoſes of exchange is ſo inconſiderable, that it is unneceſſary to accumulate any great ſtock of it. It is very immaterial whether a hundred

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ells of cloth, or one pound or twenty pounds of gold, be given in exchange. The Spaniards have acted like the dog in the fable, that dropped the meat out of his mouth, to bite at the image of it in the water, and was drowned in attempting to get it.

Unfortunately the Indians were the victims of this fatal error. Thofe unhappy men were fent to work at a very great depth under ground, where they were deprived of day-light, of a free and wholefome air, and of the comfort of mingling their tears with thofe of their friends and relations; and were doomed to dig their own graves in thofe dark manfions, which now contain more afhes of the dead than gold duft. All the nations of the univerfe being incenfed at thefe barbarities, the Spanifh writers endeavoured to prove, that the working of the mines was not attended with any danger: but the evidence of the fenfes teftified the contrary. It was well known that man could not dwell in the obfcure caverns of the earth, without fuffering fome inconvenience with refpect to his eyefight; that he could not breathe mercurial, fulphureous, arfenical, and peftilential vapours, without injury to his lungs: that unwholefome air could not be abforbed by the pores of the fkin, or fwallowed by the mouth, without prejudice to the ftomach, and to the humours of the body. But men coming out of the mines prefented the image of death under all its forms; a tormenting cough, a hideous atrophy, a melancholy marafmus, with convulfions, contractions, and diftortions of the limbs. The miners were obferved to have wrinkles, debility, tremblings, and a declining life, at the age of the moft vigorous health; and confequently, far from giving any credit to the accounts of the Spaniards, their deceit excited indignation, when their ignorance was not an object of ridicule.

Numbers of the Americans, in order to efcape thefe means of deftruction, and to withdraw themfelves from other acts of European tyranny, took refuge in the forefts, and among inacceffible mountains. In thefe

rough and wild climates, they contracted a ferocious disposition, which frequently distressed their merciless oppressors, and was the cause of much bloodshed.

In some districts, despair was carried so far, that the men, in order not to leave behind them any heirs of their misfortunes, resolved unanimously to have no connection with the women. This abstinence from the most natural desire implanted in human nature, which is the only instance of the kind ever recorded in history, seems to have been reserved to the era of the discovery of the New World, as a perpetual monument of Spanish tyranny. What more could the Americans oppose to this thirst of destruction, than the horrid vow of ceasing to perpetuate their posterity? Thus the earth was stained with the blood of the fathers, and deprived of the succeeding generation.

From this period the country seemed to lie under a curse with respect to these barbarous conquerors. The empire they had founded began to tend to general destruction. Profligacy and corruption made a rapid progress among them. The most important fortresses were suffered to decay. The country was left without arms or magazines. The soldiers, who were neither exercised, fed, nor clothed, became beggars or thieves. The first principles of war and navigation were forgotten, as well as the very names of the instruments made use of in these two necessary arts.

Trade consisted only in the art of cheating. The gold and silver, which were to be brought into the king's coffers, were fraudulently diminished, and reduced to a fourth part of the sum they ought to have produced. All orders of men, corrupted by avarice, united their efforts to prevent a true state of things from being laid before the throne, or to screen those persons who had rendered themselves obnoxious to the law. The magistrates of every rank and degree always unanimously exerted themselves to support each other in their injustice.

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The ſcene of confuſion occaſioned by theſe extortions introduced the fatal expedient of all ill governed ſtates, that of numberleſs taxes: it ſeemed as if government had two objects in view, to put a ſtop to every kind of induſtry, and to increaſe oppreſſion.

Ignorance kept pace with injuſtice. Europe was not then much enlightened. Even the knowledge that began to diffuſe itſelf in this quarter of the globe was rejected by Spain. In the meanwhile, a thicker cloud was ſpread over America. The moſt ſimple notions, upon objects of the greateſt importance, were entirely obliterated there.

As ignorance is always favourable to ſuperſtition, the miniſters of religion, rather more enlightened than the coloniſts, aſſumed a ſuperiority over them in the management of all public affairs. Being more ſecure of impunity, they were always the moſt forward to break through the laws of juſtice, and through all rules of morality and decency. The leaſt corrupt among them became traders, and the reſt availed themſelves of their eccleſiaſtical power to extort from the Indians all they were poſſeſſed of.

The hatred which aroſe between the Spaniards born in America, and thoſe who came from Europe, completed their ruin. The court had imprudently laid the foundation of theſe unhappy diviſions. The Creoles had been falſely repreſented as little better than barbarians, and nearly of the ſame character as Indians. They thought they could not depend upon their ſkill, courage, or fidelity, and therefore determined to exclude them from all places of truſt and profit. This injurious reſolution irritated the Creoles. The Spaniards, who were inveſted with authority over them, were ſo far from endeavouring to reconcile them, that they ſtudied, on the contrary, to exaſperate them by humiliating partialities. This produced an inveterate hatred between theſe two orders of men, one of which was loaded with favours, and the other ſtigmatized with diſgrace. This animoſity hath often broken out

in such a manner as to endanger the dominion of the mother-country in the New World. This discord was fomented by the clergy on both sides, who had also been infected with the contagion of these disorders.

Spain begins to recover from its lethargy.

It is a pleasing task to us to be able to think, and to write, that the condition of Spain is every day improving. No longer do the nobility affect those airs of independence which sometimes embarrass the government. Men of no rank, but of ability, have risen to the direction of public affairs, which, for too long a time, was confined to persons of high birth. The countries which are more populous and better cultivated, yield fewer briars and more harvests. From the manufactures of Grenada, of Malaga, of Seville, of Priego, of Toledo, of Talavera, and especially of Valencia, silks are produced which are in some repute, and which deserve it. The manufactures of Saint Ildefonso furnish very beautiful mirrors; those of Guadalaxara and of Escaray supply cloths and scarlets; and those of Madrid, hats, ribands, tapestry, and porcelain. All Catalonia is filled with manufactures of arms and toys, of silk stockings and handkerchiefs, of printed cottons, of common woollen goods, and of gold and silver and other lace. Communications are beginning to be opened between the capital and the provinces, and these magnificent roads are planted with useful or agreeable trees. Canals for watering or navigation are digged, the plan of which, suggested by foreigners, had so long disgusted the pride of the ministry and that of the people. Excellent manufactures of paper; printing executed with much taste; and societies consecrated to arts of elegance and utility, and to the sciences, will sooner or later dispel prejudice and ignorance. These wise establishments will be seconded by the young men whom the ministry send for instruction into those countries, the glory and prosperity of which hath been extended by their knowledge. The erroneous system of tributes, so difficult to correct, hath already undergone very material reformations. The national revenue, formerly so li-

BOOK VIII. mited, hath arisen, as it is said, to 140,400,000 livres [5,850,000l.]. If the terrier, which the court of Madrid is occupied in making since the year 1740, be settled on good principles, and if it be carried into execution, the treasury will again find its resources increase, and the persons who contribute will be relieved.

At the death of the emperor Charles V. the public treasury was so much burdened, that it was deliberated whether it would not be proper to annul so many fatal engagements. These amounted to a thousand millions of livres [41,666,666l. 13s. 4d.], or perhaps more, under the uneasy and turbulent reign of his son Philip. The interest of the sums advanced to government, absorbed, in 1688, all the produce of the taxes; and it then became necessary to have recourse to an entire bankruptcy. The events subsequent to this great crisis were all of them so unfortunate, that the finances fell suddenly into the same state of confusion from which a desperate but necessary resolution had extricated them. In the beginning of the century, a more enlightened administration established a system of order in the recoveries, and a regularity in the expences, which would have liberated the state, had it not been for the revolutions which succeeded each other, with a degree of rapidity which it is difficult to trace. Nevertheless, in 1759, the debts of the crown amounted to no more than 160,000,000 of livres [6,666,666l. 13s. 4d.], which Ferdinand left in his coffers. His successor employed half of this sum in liquidating some debts; the rest of it was consumed in the war of Portugal, in the augmentation of the navy, and in a multitude of expences that were necessary to rouse the monarchy from that languid state in which it had been plunged during two centuries of ignorance and inactivity.

The vigilance of the new government hath not confined itself to the suppression of part of the evils which contributed to the ruin of their possessions in Europe. Attention hath also been paid to some of the abuses which impeded the prosperity of their colonies. Their

governors have been chosen with more care, and better superintended. Some of the vices that had insinuated themselves into the tribunals have been reformed; all the branches of administration have been improved; and even the fate of the Indians is become less unhappy.

Means that Spain ought to employ to hasten her prosperity in Europe and in America.

These first steps towards a reformation must be an inducement to the Spanish ministry to hope, that a good form of government may be established, when the true principles on which it is founded shall be once known, and the proper means made use of to effect it. The character of the nation is not an invincible obstacle to this change, as it is too generally thought to be. Indolence is not so natural to the Spaniards as we imagine. If we look back to those times in which this unfavourable prejudice was first entertained, we shall find that this want of activity did not extend to every thing; and that if Spain was inactive at home, she was not so abroad, but was incessantly disturbing the repose of her neighbours. Her idleness proceeds in some degree from foolish pride. Because the nobility were unemployed, the people imagined it was a mark of nobility to do nothing. They all wanted to enjoy the same prerogative; and the starved, half-naked Spaniard, carelessly sitting on the ground, looks with pity on his neighbours, who are well clothed, live well, work, and laugh at his folly. The one, from a motive of pride, despises the conveniencies of life; while the other, from a principle of vanity, endeavours to acquire them. The climate had made the Spaniard abstemious, and indigence hath rendered him more so. The monkish spirit, to which he hath long been subject, makes him consider poverty, which is occasioned by his vices, as a virtue. As he hath no property, he covets none; but his aversion for labour is greater still than his contempt for riches.

That poor and proud people have nothing left of their ancient character, but an immoderate fondness for every thing that hath the appearance of grandeur. They must be flattered with chimerical ideas, and ani-

BOOK VIII. mated with the ſtrongeſt hopes of glory. The ſatisfaction they feel in depending on none but the crown, ſince the abaſement of the grandees, makes them receive all that comes from the court with reſpect and confidence. This powerful influence might be made ſubſervient to their happineſs. Some means might be contrived to perſuade them that labour is honourable, and the nation will ſoon become what it was before the diſcovery of America, in thoſe glorious times, when, without any foreign aid, Spain threatened the liberties of all Europe.

When the imagination of this people is once properly directed, and they are brought to be aſhamed of their haughty ſpirit of indolence, other evils muſt be attended to. The moſt deſtructive to the bulk of the nation is the want of population. Well-governed colonies will naturally increaſe the population of the mother-country, which on her part promotes the increaſe of theirs, by ſupplying them with advantageous marts for the produce of their induſtry. It is on this plan, alike intereſting to humanity and ſound policy, that the more enlightened nations of the Old Hemiſphere have formed their ſettlements in the New one. This wiſe and noble deſign hath been univerſally crowned with ſucceſs. Spain alone, which had formed her ſyſtem in a darker age, hath ſeen her population decreaſe at home, in proportion as her poſſeſſions increaſed abroad.

When the diſproportion between the extent of a territory and its inhabitants is not extreme, the balance may be gradually reſtored by activity, economy, great encouragements given to matrimony, and a long peace. Spain, which, according to the exact account taken in 1768, hath no more than nine millions three hundred and ſeven thouſand eight hundred and four inhabitants of every age and ſex, and which doth not reckon, in her colonies, the tenth part of the individuals that would be neceſſary to cultivate them, cannot remedy this evil either at home or abroad, without new and extraordinary efforts. To increaſe the laborious claſ-

fes of men, there muft be a reduction of the clergy, who enervate and deftroy the ftate. Two thirds of her military force muft be abolifhed, and thefe foldiers muft be employed in the arts; fince the connection with France, and the weaknefs of Portugal, no longer render them neceffary. The government muft apply itfelf to alleviate the burdens of the people, as foon as its poffeffions in both hemifpheres are extricated from that confufion and diforder into which they had been thrown, for thefe two centuries paft, through the effects of indolence, ignorance, and tyranny. But it is firft abfolutely neceffary that the infamous tribunal of the inquifition fhould be abolifhed.

Superftition, whatever may be the reafon of it, prevails among all nations, whether rude or civilized. It proceeds undoubtedly from the fear of evil, and from the ignorance of its caufes, or of its remedy. At leaft this alone is fufficient to imprint it in the minds of all men. The calamities of nature, plagues, ficknefs, unforefeen accidents, deftructive phenomena, all the latent caufes of pain and death, are fo univerfal on earth, that it would be very furprifing if man had not been deeply affected with them in every country and in every age.

But this natural fear muft always have increafed, or have been magnified in proportion to ignorance and fenfibility. It muft have given rife to the worfhip of the elements that are moft deftructive to the earth, fuch as manifeft themfelves in inundations, conflagrations, and plagues; and to the worfhip of animals, whether venomous or voracious, but always noxious. Hence too muft have arifen the worfhip of men who have done the greateft injuries to mankind, of conquerors, of fortunate impoftors, of the workers of prodigies, apparently good or bad; and the worfhip of invifible and imaginary beings, fuppofed to lie concealed in every inftrument of deftruction. Reflection, and the ftudy of nature, muft have infenfibly leffened the number of thefe invifible agents, and the human mind muft have rifen from idolatry to theifm; but this laft fimple

BOOK VIII. and ſublime idea will always have remained imperfect and confuſed in the minds of the vulgar, and mixed with a multitude of errors and fancies.

Revelation had confirmed and perfected the idea of the doctrine of the unity of God; and, perhaps, a more pure religion would then have been eſtabliſhed, had not the northern barbarians, who poured in upon the ſeveral provinces of the Roman empire, brought along with them their own ſacred prejudices, which could not be diſpelled but by other fables. Unfortunately, Chriſtianity was preached to men incapable of underſtanding it thoroughly. They would not embrace it, unleſs it were attended with that external pomp and ſhow in which ignorance delights. Intereſted motives burdened it, and debaſed it more and more with other obſervances, and conſtantly invented new doctrines and miracles, which were the more revered as they were the leſs credible. The nations, engaged during twelve centuries in dividing and conteſting about the ſeveral provinces of an univerſal monarchy, which one nation had formed in leſs than two hundred years, admitted, without examination, all the errors which the prieſts, after much controverſy, had agreed to teach the multitude. But the clergy, too numerous to maintain any unanimity of opinion, had fomented the ſeeds of diviſion, which muſt ſooner or later be communicated to the people. The time came, when the ſame ſpirit of ambition and avarice that actuated the whole church, exerted itſelf with great animoſity againſt many ſuperſtitions that were univerſally adopted.

As it was from cuſtom that the people had received all thoſe puerile notions which they had ſuffered themſelves to be deluded into, and that they were not attached to them from national principles or party ſpirit, thoſe who were moſt intereſted in ſupporting them were unable to defend them, when they were attacked with that ſteadineſs that was calculated to fix the attention of the public. But nothing ſo much promoted the reformation of Luther and Calvin, as the liberty they granted to every one to examine and determine

finally upon the religious principles he had been taught. Though the multitude were incapable of undertaking this discussion, yet every man plumed himself upon having the privilege to determine on a subject in which his most valuable and most important interests were concerned. The commotion was so universal, that the new opinions would in all probability have triumphed totally over the old, had not the magistracy thought it their interest to stem the torrent. Implicit obedience was as necessary for the support of the supreme power, as for that of religion, and was the surest foundation of its authority; that power began therefore to be alarmed, lest those who had overturned the old and firm foundations of the Roman hierarchy might next proceed to examine into its own prerogatives. The republican spirit which naturally spread itself among the reformed contributed to increase this distrust.

The kings of Spain, more jealous of their power than other sovereigns, endeavoured to support it, by establishing a more uniform system of superstition. They were not sensible that the opinions of men, concerning an unknown Being, cannot be all the same. In vain did reason expostulate with those weak monarchs, alleging that no power had a right to prescribe to men what they were to think; that society, in order to support itself, is under no necessity of restraining the freedom of the soul; that to compel men to subscribe to certain articles of faith, is to exact a false oath, which makes a man a traitor to his coscience, in order that he may be a faithful subject; and that a citizen who serves his country is, in a political light, preferable to him who is orthodox to no purpose. These permanent and incontestable principles were not attended to. They were overruled by the prospect of great advantage, and still more by the furious clamours of a multitude of fanatical priests, who hastened to assume the supreme authority. The prince, thus reduced to become their slave, was forced to abandon his subjects to their caprices, to suffer them to be op-

BOOK VIII. preſſed, and to become an idle ſpectator of the cruelties exerciſed againſt them. From that time, ſuperſtitious manners, beneficial only to the prieſthood, became prejudicial to ſociety. A people thus corrupt and degenerate were the moſt cruel of any. Their obedience to the monarch was ſubordinate to the will of the prieſt, who oppreſſed every other power, and was in fact the ſovereign of the ſtate.

Inaction was the neceſſary conſequence of a ſuperſtition that enervated all the faculties of the ſoul. The project which the Romans formed from their earlieſt origin, of becoming maſters of the world, ſhewed itſelf even in their religion. It was Victory, Bellona, Fortune, the genius of the Roman people, Rome herſelf, that were their gods. A nation that endeavoured to imitate their example, and thought of becoming conquerors, adopted a monkiſh government, which hath deſtroyed every proſpect of ſucceſs, and will effectually prevent their reſtoration either in Spain or America, unleſs this kind of government be totally ſubverted, and every idea of the horror it excites obliterated with it. The ſuppreſſion of the inquiſition muſt certainly haſten this great change; and it is a pleaſing expectation to think, that if the court of Madrid will not determine upon this neceſſary ſtep, they will one day be compelled to it by a humane conqueror, who will inſert it as the firſt article in a treaty of peace, that *the Autos-da-fé ſhall be aboliſhed in all the Spaniſh dominions both in Europe and America.*

This ſtep, however neceſſary it may be towards the reſtoration of the monarchy, is not alone ſufficient. Though Spain hath employed more art to conceal her weakneſs, than was neceſſary to enable her to acquire ſtrength, the world is not unacquainted with the diſorders ſhe labours under. They have taken ſo deep a root, and are of ſo inveterate a nature, that they cannot be remedied without foreign aids. If ſhe will but ſubmit to accept them, ſhe will ſoon ſee her provinces in both hemiſpheres filled with new inhabitants, who will bring with them numberleſs branches of induſtry.

The northern and ſouthern nations, actuated by that paſſion for riches which is the characteriſtic of the preſent age, will reſort in multitudes to the regions that are thrown open to excite their emulation. The riches of the public will increaſe in proportion to thoſe of individuals; and thoſe which have been acquired by foreigners will become a national wealth, if they be permitted to enjoy them with that ſecurity, ſatisfaction, and diſtinction, which may induce them to forget their native country.

Spain would ſoon ſee her population increaſe to the degree ſhe would wiſh, if ſhe not only admitted perſons of her own perſuaſion, but even encouraged, indiſcriminately, all ſects to ſettle among them. This might be done without injury to the principles of religion, and without deviating from the maxims of true policy. Well-regulated governments are not diſturbed by the diverſity of opinions that prevail in them; neither doth Chriſtianity, rightly underſtood, proſcribe a liberty of conſcience. The truth of theſe maxims hath been ſo clearly demonſtrated, that they cannot fail of being ſoon adopted as a rule to all nations that are in any degree enlightened.

When the Spaniards have once procured a ſufficient number of men, they will then think of employing them in the moſt advantageous manner. The anxiety they felt to ſee the treaſures of America paſs into the hands of their rivals and enemies, made them imagine that the revival of their manufactures was the only method that could enable them to retain part of thoſe treaſures at home. Such of their writers upon finance as have inſiſted upon this ſyſtem, appear to us to be in an error. As long as the people, who are in poſſeſſion of thoſe manufactures which ſerve to ſupply the demands of America, will attend to the preſervation of them, thoſe which may be attempted to be eſtabliſhed in other parts will ſcarce be able to vie with them. Theſe manufacturers may poſſibly procure the materials and workmanſhip at as reaſonable a rate: but ſome centuries muſt paſs before they can be able to

BOOK VIII. attain to the ſame degree of expedition and perfection in the work. Nothing could effect this great change, but ſuch a revolution as would convey the beſt foreign workmen, and the moſt ſkilful artiſts, to Spain. Till this period ſhall arrive, which does not ſeem very near, any attempts that are made will not be ſucceſsful.

We may proceed ſtill further, and venture to affirm, that though it ſhould be in the power of Spain to procure a ſuperiority in the manufactures reſpecting articles of luxury, ſhe ought not to do it. A tranſient ſucceſs would be productive of total ruin. Let us ſuppoſe that Spain can furniſh all the commodities that are wanted in her colonies; the immenſe treaſures this trade will bring in, will all centre in home circulation, and the conſequence will be, that the coin will ſink in value. This plenty of ſpecie will certainly occaſion a dearneſs of proviſions, and enhance the price of labour. There will be no proportion between the price Spain muſt require for her manufactures, and that which the neighbouring nations will ſell theirs for. Theſe, being able to afford their commodities cheaper, will oblige the Spaniards to take them, becauſe an exorbitant profit will ſurmount every obſtacle. The Spaniſh artificers, deſtitute of employment, will be reduced to the neceſſity of ſeeking for it in other places, and Spain will loſe both her induſtry and her population.

Since then it is impoſſible that the Spaniards ſhould keep the whole produce of the American mines in their own hands, and ſince they muſt unavoidably ſhare it with the reſt of Europe, they ſhould exert all their policy to preſerve the greateſt part of it, to make the balance incline in their favour; and in order to render their advantages permanent, they muſt be ſatisfied with ſuch as are moderate. They will ſecure to themſelves this kind of ſuperiority by the practice of the neceſſary arts, and the plenty and goodneſs of their natural productions.

The Spaniſh miniſtry have been ſenſible of this truth, but have been deceived in the opinion they entertain-

ed, that the manufactures were the chief promoters of agriculture. It is certain, however, that they contribute to promote the culture of lands. They are even neceſſary, wherever the expence of tranſport puts a ſtop to the circulation and conſumption of the produce, ſo that the cultivator is at a loſs how to diſpoſe of his commodities. But in all other caſes, the farmer can ſucceed without the aſſiſtance of manufactures. If he can but diſpoſe of his produce, he is under no concern, whether it be for local conſumption or for trade and exportation, and will go on with his tillage.

Spain annually ſells for exportation, in wool, ſilk, oil, wine, iron, and kali, to the omount of above eighty millions of livres [3,333,333l. 6s. 8d.]. Theſe exports, moſt of which cannot be replaced from any ſoil in Europe, will admit of immenſe augmentation. They will be ſufficient, independent of what the Spaniards receive from the Indies, to pay for all the foreign goods that can be conſumed in the nation. We grant, that by thus ſending their unwrought produce to other countries, they will increaſe their population, wealth, and power; but they will promote a more certain and more beneficial kind of induſtry at home. Their political influence will ſoon claim a relative ſuperiority, and the nation employed in agriculture will ſoon become greater than that which confines itſelf to manufactures.

America will greatly increaſe theſe advantages; and will be beneficial to Spain, both by her gold and ſilver, and by her commodities.

We have none but vague notions concerning the quantity of metals and of proviſions which the Old World received from the New, in the early periods after the conqueſt. Our knowledge of thoſe points increaſes, in proportion as we draw nearer to modern times. At preſent, Spain receives annually, from the continent of America, 89,095,052 livres [3,712,293l. 16s. 8d.] in gold or in ſilver, and 34,653,902 livres

BOOK VIII. [1,443,912l. 11s. 8d.], in productions; which makes, in the whole, 123,748,954 livres [5,156,206l. 18s. 4d.]. Taking this calculation for a rule, it will be found that the mother-country hath received from its colonies, in the ſpace of two hundred and eighty-ſeven years, 35,515,949,798 livres [1,479,831,242l. 1s. 6d.].

It muſt be acknowledged, that a leſs quantity of productions was received formerly than is at preſent; but, on the other hand, the mines were more plentiful. If we chooſe to reckon the metals only, Spain will have received no more than 25,570,279,924 livres [1,065,428,330l. 3s. 4d.]; and we ſhall then ſtrike out of the calculation the 9,945,669,874 livres [414,402,911l. 8s. 4d.] of productions.

There would be a poſſibility of increaſing this maſs of metals and productions. For the firſt of theſe objects, it would be ſufficient that the government ſhould ſend over to America ſome perſons ſkilled in metallurgy, and make the conditions eaſier on which they allow the working of the mines. But this would be only a tranſient advantage, ſince it is undeniable that gold and ſilver are not to be conſidered as riches, but only as the repreſentations of them. Theſe ſigns are indeed very durable, as they ought to be, to anſwer their deſtination. But the more they are multiplied, the more they loſe of their value, becauſe they ſerve to repreſent fewer things. In proportion as they are become more common ſince the diſcovery of America, every thing is increaſed in value twice, thrice, and four times beyond what it was before. The produce of the mines hath conſtantly decreaſed, and the expence of working them hath been continually greater. The balance, which inclines more and more to the loſing ſide, may ſo far deſtroy the equipoiſe, that it may be found neceſſary to drop this ſource of wealth. But at all events, it will be adviſable to render theſe operations more ſimple, and to try every poſſible method to make this labour leſs deſtructive to the human race than it hath been hitherto. There is another ſource of proſperity for Spain, which will be ſo far

from decreaſing, that it will daily gather new ſtrength; and that is agriculture.

Such is the important end which the court of Madrid muſt endeavour to compaſs. If, by placing the metals in that inferior rank which belongs to them, they reſolve to lay the foundation of the public felicity on the productions that may be derived from a fertile and immenſe territory, the New Hemiſphere will emerge from that ſtate of annihilation in which it was found, and in which it hath been left. The ſun, which hath hitherto ſhone only on uncultivated deſerts, will produce univerſal fertility.

To the number of productions which its rays, aſſiſted with the labour and ſkill of man, ſhall bring forth there, we ſhall add thoſe which at preſent enrich the iſlands of the New World, the conſumption of which is daily increaſing, and which, after having been for a long time objects of luxury, begin now to be conſidered as articles of indiſpenſable neceſſity.

The aromatics and ſpices of Aſia, which carry from ten to twelve millions of livres [from 416,666l. 13s. 4d. to 500,000l.] annually out of the monarchy, might be made to thrive there; and there is particular reaſon to expect this with regard to the cinnamon. It grows naturally in ſome of the valleys of the Cordeleirias; and by cultivation, perhaps, ſome of the qualities it wants might be imparted to it.

Several of the provinces of Mexico formerly produced excellent ſilks, which were manufactured with ſucceſs in Spain. This ſource of wealth hath been loſt, by the numberleſs obſtructions it hath met with; but it might eaſily be revived and extended.

The Vicuna wool is in great repute among all nations. The quantity they are ſupplied with is nothing in compariſon of the demands for it. The moſt certain method of increaſing this precious wool would probably be, to let the animal that ſupplies it live, after having taken it away from him.

It would be impoſſible to enumerate the productions which regions ſo immenſe, climates ſo various,

and foils of fo different a nature, might fupply. Among fuch a variety of cultivations, fome, perhaps, might be found that would fuit the Indians, others might probably induce fome of the wandering nations to fix. Thefe affociations, diftributed with fkill, might alfo ferve to eftablifh communications between colonies that are now feparated from each other by immenfe and uninhabited fpaces. The laws, which always lofe their force among men too far diftant from each other, and from the magiftrate, would then be obferved. Commerce, which is perpetually interrupted by the impoffibility of conveying the merchandife to their deftination, would then become more animated. In cafe of war, the people would be warned of any approaching danger, and would give each other fpeedy and effectual fuccours. It muft be acknowledged that this new fyftem could not be eftablifhed without difficulty. Thefe falutary views would be thwarted by indolence, by the climate, and by prejudices: but knowledge prudently diftributed, encouragements well managed, and marks of confideration properly beftowed, would overcome, in procefs of time, all obftacles. The progrefs of cultivation would be much accelerated, by fuppreffing the practice now become general, of thofe majorafcos, or perpetual fucceffions, which occafion fuch a number of idle perfons in the country, and which are productive of ftill greater mifchief in the colonies. The firft conquerors, and thofe who purfued their meafures, ufurped immenfe diftricts, or obtained the gift of them. They converted them into an indivifible inheritance for their children; and the younger ones were thus, in fome meafure, devoted to celibacy, to the cloifter, or to the priefthood. Thefe enormous poffeffions have remained uncultivated, and will ftill continue fo, till fome fteady and prudent man fhall take upon him to permit, or to order, the divifion of them. Then the number of proprietors, which is at prefent fo much confined, notwithftanding the great extent of the territories, will be increafed, and productions will be multiplied with property.

The labours would advance more rapidly, if foreigners were permitted to take a part in them. The Spanish Indies were indiscriminately shut against them all, even at the period of the discovery. The laws formally prescribed, that the persons who had penetrated into them, in any manner whatever, should be sent back into Europe. Philip II. urged by his wants, authorised, in 1596, his delegates to naturalize the few that had slipped in there, upon condition that they should pay the stipulated price for this adoption. This kind of market has been frequently renewed, but rather in favour of artists of necessary utility to the country, than for merchants, who, it was supposed, would one day retire with the wealth they had accumulated. The number, however, both of the one and the other, hath always been extremely confined, because it is prohibited to embark any in the mother-country; and that the colonies themselves, whether from motives of mistrust or jealousy, reject them. The advancement of knowledge gives us reason to think that this unsociable spirit will have an end. The government will at length understand what they have to expect from a healthy and vigorous man, between five-and-twenty and thirty years of age; what mischief he doth to the country which he quits, and how acceptable he is to the foreign nations, among whom he transfers his strength and his industry. They will comprehend how strangely stupid it is to make the right of hospitality be purchased by the man who should come to multiply by his useful labours, either the productions of the soil, or the works of the manufactures. They will discern the deep policy of those people, who should make a point of inviting the inhabitants of neighbouring regions to settle in their towns, or in their country-places, or to traverse their provinces. They will find out what sort of tribute should be imposed upon nations who might supply them with workmen, with cultivators, and with consumers; how much the spirit of intoleration which banishes is fatal; what funds of wealth a nation derives from toleration; and how in-

BOOK VIII. different a circumſtance it is to the value of commodities, whether they be produced from the labours of orthodox perſons or of heretics, of Spaniards, or of Hollanders. But the greateſt encouragements that could be given to the cultivation of the lands, and all the favours which it would be poſſible to add to them, would be of no effect, without the certainty of an eaſy and advantageous mart for the productions. M. de la Enſenada firſt diſcovered that the exportation of them would be impracticable, as long as the commerce of the New World ſhould be conducted in the manner it had been. Accordingly, notwithſtanding the oppoſition he met with, and notwithſtanding the prejudices he had to combat, he ſubſtituted, in 1740, detached veſſels to the parade ſo anciently eſtabliſhed, and ſo highly revered, of galleons and fleets. He was meditating other changes ſtill more advantageous, when an unexpected diſgrace ſtopped him in the midſt of his brilliant career.

One half of the good which this bold and able miniſter had done was annulled in 1756, by the re-eſtabliſhment of the fleets: but this miſchief was partly repaired eight years after, by the ſetting on foot of the packet-boats, which, from Corunna, were to carry, every month, to the Havannah, the letters deſtined for the northern colonies; and every two months, to Buenos-Ayres, thoſe that were deſtined for the ſouthern colonies. Theſe veſſels, which were of no inconſiderable ſize, were allowed to load at their departure with European merchandiſe, and, at their return, with American commodities.

The exportation of metals was forbidden under capital penalties. This abſurd prohibition was made a jeſt of, becauſe it was neceſſary that foreign commerce ſhould receive the value of the merchandiſe it had furniſhed. Ancient governments, which had for the laws the reſpect they deſerve, would not have failed to abrogate one, the obſervance of which had been ſhown to be chimerical. In our modern times, when empires are rather conducted by the caprices of the governors,

than regulated upon reaſonable principles, Spain went no further, in 1748, than to permit the exportation of gold and ſilver, upon condition that a duty of three *per cent.* ſhould be paid to the treaſury. Twenty years after, this tax was increaſed to four *per cent.* although the government was warned by perpetual frauds, that it was their intereſt to lower it.

The year 1774 was the period of another fortunate innovation. Till that time, every kind of intercourſe between the ſeveral parts of the American continent had been rigidly prohibited. Mexico, Guatimala, Peru, and the New Kingdom, were all compelled to be ſtrangers to each other. The action and reaction which would have made them all partake of the advantages nature had diſtributed among them, were conſidered as crimes, and ſeverely puniſhed. But what reaſon can be aſſigned why this proſcription ſhould not have been extended from one town to another, or from one dwelling to a neighbouring one in the ſame diſtrict, from one family to another in the ſame diſtrict? Hath nature traced upon the ſoil, which men inhabit, any line of limitation? How doth it happen, that, under the ſame dominion, a place ſituated at an equal diſtance from two other places, ſhould be allowed a free exerciſe of a privilege towards the Eaſt, which is refuſed to it towards the Weſt? Doth not ſuch an edict, properly interpreted, ſignify, let us forbid every country to cultivate more than is neceſſary for its own conſumption, and every inhabitant from being in want of any thing beſide the productions of his own ſoil? A free communication was at length opened between theſe provinces: and the inhabitants were allowed to think themſelves fellow-citizens, and to treat each other as brethren.

One law, of the month of February 1778, permits all the ports of Spain to diſpatch ſhips to Buenos-Ayres, and to the South Sea. In the month of October of the ſame year, this liberty hath been granted for the reſt of the continent, except for Mexico, which will undoubtedly ſoon enjoy the ſame advantage. This

BOOK VIII. will be a confiderable ftep; but it will not be fufficient, as it is fuppofed, to put a ftop to the fmuggling trade, which occafions fo many clamours.

All the people, whofe poffeffions have been near the Spanifh fettlements, have endeavoured to appropriate to themfelves clandeftinely their treafures and their commodities. The Portuguefe have turned their views towards the river Plata; the French, the Danes, and the Dutch, towards the coaft of Caraccas, Carthagena, and Porto-Bello. The Englifh, who knew and frequented thefe roads, have found that the ceffions made to them by the laft treaty have opened to them other ways of obtaining a more confiderable fhare of thefe rich fpoils. All thefe nations have fucceeded in their attempts, by deceiving or bribing the guarda coftas, and fometimes by fighting them.

The governors, far from remedying thefe diforders, encouraged them as much as poffible. Several of them had purchafed their pofts; moft of them were in hafte to get fortunes, and wifhed to be paid for the dangers they had incurred by the change of climate. There was not a moment to be loft, becaufe it was feldom they were continued in their places more than from three to five years. Among the leaft dangerous modes they had of acquiring riches, was that of encouraging the contraband trade, or of carrying it on themfelves. No perfon in America exclaimed againft a conduct which was favourable to all.

If the complaints of fome European merchants reached the court, they were eafily filenced by proper gratuities to confeffors, miftreffes, or favourites. The delinquent not only fheltered himfelf from punifhment, but was alfo rewarded. Nothing was fo well eftablifhed, or fo generally known, as this practice. A Spaniard juft returned from America, where he had filled an important poft, was complaining to a friend of the injurious reports that were fpread concerning the difcharge of his truft. *If you are flandered*, fays his friend, *you are undone; but if your extortions are not exaggerated, you have nothing to do but to*

give up part of your plunder, and you will enjoy the remainder peaceably, and even with credit.

The fraudulent trade will continue till it hath been made impossible to bear the expences of it, or to brave the dangers to which it exposes; and this can never be done but by lowering the duties with which the Spanish ports have been successively overburdened. Even since the sacrifices made by government in the regulations of 1778, the contraband trader hath an advantage of sixty-four *per cent.* over the fair dealer.

The revolution which a judicious system of policy may bring about will occasion a deficiency, and a very considerable one, in the public treasury: but the distress that would result from it would be no more than momentary. Immense riches would one day be produced from this long-expected arrangement of things.

According to the new system, Spain, which hitherto hath furnished annually no more than one thousand seven hundred and forty-one tons of wine and brandy, by which the cultivators had not got one million of livres [41,666l. 13s. 4d.], will now send ten or twelve times as much. This exportation would fertilize an uncultivated territory, and would disgust Mexico, as well as some other provinces of the New World, of the bad liquors they are used to consume, on account of the dearness of those that have crossed the seas.

The manufactures, which the impossibility of paying for those which came from the Old Hemisphere hath caused to be established, would not support themselves. It would have been the highest act of tyranny to put them down by authority, as some inconsiderate, corrupt, and despotic ministers have not scrupled to propose; but nothing would be more reasonable than to bring them into disrepute with the persons who now use them for clothing, by offering them, at a price suitable to their circumstances, linens and stuffs, that would be more agreeable to their taste or to their vanity. Then the consumption of European merchan-

diſe, which doth not exceed annually ſix thouſand ſix hundred and twelve tons, would be doubly increaſed, and in proceſs of time much more.

The hands which are employed in manufacture would be transferred to agriculture, which is at preſent much confined. The ports, however, of all nations are open to their commodities. Several of them might perhaps object, that Spain ſhould make the moſt of her iſlands, becauſe ſuch an improvement would neceſſarily occaſion an evident injury to her colonies; but they are all deſirous that ſhe ſhould bring more of the productions of her continent to market, becauſe moſt of them are neceſſary, and cannot be replaced by others.

This new arrangement of things would be equally favourable to the mines. Thoſe which have been neglected, from their not being able to pay for the mercury and other articles, would be opened again. Thoſe, the working of which hath not been interrupted, would be followed up with more activity, and with greater means. The plenty of metals would open freſh markets to induſtry, which even the ableſt men do not think of.

The Americans, become more rich and more happy, would have more confidence in government. They would readily conſent to pay taxes, the nature and levying of which can only be properly regulated on the ſpot, and from a mature conſideration of the character and cuſtoms of the people. Theſe tributes, however trifling they may be ſuppoſed to be, would do more than fill up the deficiency occaſioned in the public coffers by the leſſening of the duties.

The crown, enjoying a more conſiderable revenue, would no longer abandon their provinces to the rapacioufneſs of their agents. They would leſſen the number of them, pay thoſe they retained in a proper manner, and compel them to reſpect the rights of the people and the intereſts of government. To think it impoſſible that this ſpirit of juſtice ſhould be eſtabliſhed, would argue an ignorance of the reſources of a well

managed authority. Campillo succeeded in it, during his austere ministry, although the governors of America at that time had contracted the habit of plunder, and that their appointments were not sufficient to maintain the dignity which their rank seemed to require.

It must be acknowledged, that the freedom of trade between all Spain and America, hath been reckoned a chimera. The harbours of this peninsula are, as it has been said, so poor, that whatever steps may be taken, that of Cadix will remain in the sole possession of this monopoly. This would undoubtedly happen, if the ancient system should only be departed from in this point: but, if the new plan be directed by the principles already established, and already practised among commercial nations, it will be found that there are in most of the ports of this kingdom funds sufficient for these undertakings. These armaments will even soon be multiplied, because the moderate rate of the freight, and of the duties, will allow them to send common merchandise, and to receive in return commodities of small value. In process of time, the navigation of the mother-country, with its colonies on the continent, which at present employs no more than from thirty to thirty-two ships every year, would receive so great an increase, that the boldest speculators could not venture to fix the limits of it.

It hath been supposed, with more foundation, that as soon as the ports of America should be open to all the ports of the monarchy, and that no kind of oppression would exist in the customs, trade, when freed from these shackles, would occasion unlimited emulation. The avidity and imprudence of the merchants, give reason to suspect this confusion; which might perhaps turn out to advantage. The colonists, encouraged by the cheapness, to the acquisition of enjoyments which they had been never able to procure, will have other wants, and consequently would devote themselves to other labours. If even the excess of the competition would be an evil, it could never be any thing more than a temporary one. To endeavour to

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prevent this commotion, by laws destructive of every good, is to attempt the prevention of a fortunate revolution, by a continual system of oppression.

But the objection which had been most thought of in the court of Madrid, hath been, it seems, that all the European nations would find their trade increase by these arrangements. This is certainly true. But would not Spanish industry be equally encouraged, since, when freed from the duty which foreign merchandise would continue to pay on entering the kingdom, it would preserve all its advantages? Would not the government still collect the duties they might have thought proper to leave upon these productions? Would not their navigators still gain their freight? Would not their merchants be the agents of this commerce? Would not their subjects of the New World obtain at a cheaper rate every thing that is conveyed to them? It is, perhaps, a fortunate circumstance for this power, to be obliged to share with other people the supplying of its American possessions. If it were otherwise, the maritime powers would exert their utmost efforts to deprive it of them. Whether they would succeed or not, is a point which remains to be examined.

Inquiry whether the Spanish empire be founded upon a solid basis in the New World.

The Dutch were the first people who ventured to turn their arms against Peru. They sent a small squadron thither in 1643, which easily took Baldivia, the only fortified port of Chili, and the key to those peaceful seas. Their navigators already possessed, in imagination, the treasures of those rich countries, till their expectations were disappointed by the appearance of famine and disease. The death of their favourite chief increased their anxiety, and the troops that were sent against them from Callao threw them into total despair. The idea of the distance they were at from their native country, deprived them of all their courage, and the fear of falling into the hands of a nation whose hatred they had so often experienced, determined them to reimbark. If their perseverance had been greater, they would probably have preserved their conquests

till the arrival of the fuccours that would have been fent from the Zuyder Zee, when their firft fuccefs came to be known.

Such was the opinion of thofe Frenchmen, who, in 1595, united their riches and their efforts to go and plunder Peru, and to form a fettlement on that part of the coaft of Chili which had been neglected by the Spaniards. This fcheme was approved by Lewis XIV. who, to facilitate the execution of it, granted fix men of war. The fquadron proceeded very fortunately, under the command of the brave De Gènes, till it got towards the middle of the Straits of Magellan. Succefs was thought to be near at hand, when the navigators, obftinately repulfed by contrary winds, and affailed with every poffible calamity, were obliged to return to Europe. Thefe adventurers, ftill thirfting after riches and dangers, were intending to form a new affociation, when the courfe of events united the interefts of the two crowns.

The Englifh had turned their attention with avidity towards thefe countries, before other people. They were tempted by the mines as early as the year 1624; but the weaknefs of the prince who then reigned, proved the ruin of a confiderable affociation formed for this great purpofe. Charles II. refumed this important project, and fent Sir John Narborough to reconnoitre thofe latitudes that were fo little known, and to endeavour to open fome communication with the favages of Chili. That monarch was fo impatient to know the fuccefs of the expedition, that when he was informed of the return of his admiral to the Downs, he got into his barge and went to meet him at Gravefend.

Though this firft attempt had been of no advantage, the Britifh miniftry were not difcouraged. The elevation of the Duke of Anjou to the throne excited a general ferment. England, which had put itfelf at the head of the confederacy formed to deprive this prince of the throne, was victorious in all parts, but was obliged to purchafe this glory at a very dear rate.

BOOK VIII. The nation was groaning under the oppreſſion of taxes, while the treaſury had contracted immenſe engagements. It ſeemed difficult to fulfil them, and at the ſame time to continue the war, when the idea was ſuggeſted of a company which ſhould have the excluſive privilege of trading to the South Seas, upon condition that they ſhould liquidate the national debt. Such was the opinion they entertained of the riches of Peru, and of the great fortunes that might eaſily be made there, that foreigners, as well as the people of the country, were eager to lend their money to this undertaking. The direction of it was given to the Lord High Treaſurer Oxford, the author of the project, and he employed, in the expences of the ſtate, funds that were deſtined for a very different purpoſe.

Then the ſhares of the new company fell into the utmoſt diſrepute; but théy ſoon roſe again. At the peace, the court of London obtained from that of Madrid, that the South Sea Company ſhould fulfil its deſtination. The trade of Peru was formally given up to them. They were quietly enriching themſelves, when a bloody war changed the ſituation of affairs. A ſquadron under the command of Anſon was ſent, inſtead of the ſhips of thoſe rapacious merchants which frequented theſe ſeas. It is probable he would have executed the whole of his terrible commiſſion, had he not been prevented by the misfortunes that befel his ſquadron, in being obliged, from ill-concerted meaſures, to double Cape Horn at an improper and dangerous ſeaſon.

Since the laſt peace, the French in 1764, and the Engliſh in 1766, have undertaken to form a ſettlement not far from the coaſt of Patagonia, or in fifty-one degrees thirty minutes of ſouthern latitude, in three iſlands, which the former have called Malouine, and the latter Falkland Iſlands. Spain, alarmed at ſeeing foreign nations in theſe latitudes, eaſily obtained from the court of Verſailles the ſacrifice of their feeble colony: but the warmeſt repreſentations produced no effect upon the court of London, which had not the

ſame motives of attention and complaiſance. The miniſtry on both ſides grew warm. Port Egmont, recently occupied, was ſuddenly attacked, and taken without reſiſtance. The two hemiſpheres were again going to be deluged with blood, if the aggreſſors had not at length determined to reſtore a poſt, which they ought not to have ſeized upon, at a time when negotiations were opened to examine into the rights of the two crowns. England hath ſince engaged, by a verbal agreement of the 22d January 1771, to ſuffer this feeble, uſeleſs, and expenſive ſettlement gradually to decay. Accordingly, in the month of May 1774, there remained no more than five-and-twenty men upon it, when it was evacuated, leaving an inſcription to certify to poſterity, that theſe iſlands had belonged, and had not ceaſed to belong, to Great Britain. Theſe navigators, attentive to the dignity of their nation, inſulted, at their departure, the rival power. It is from motives of condeſcenſion, and not of fear, that they are willing to deſiſt from their claims. But when they promiſe eternal duration to their empire, they forget that their grandeur may diſappear as rapidly as it hath riſen. Of all the modern nations, what remains will there be in the annals of the world? The names only of a few illuſtrious perſonages, of a Chriſtopher Columbus, of a Deſcartes, and of a Newton. What a number of petty ſtates, all ridiculouſly aſpiring to the great deſtinies of Rome!

Without the aſſiſtance of this ſtaple, and indeed without any, Anſon thought that the empire of the Spaniards in the Pacific Ocean might be attacked with advantage. According to the plan of this celebrated navigator, twelve men of war, ſent from Europe with three or four thouſand troops, would direct their courſe towards the South Sea. They would procure refreſhments at Bahia, at Rio Janeiro, at St. Catherine's, and throughout all the Brazils, where a ſtrong deſire prevails of humbling the Spaniards. The repairs that might become neceſſary, would be executed with ſafety upon the deſert and uninhabitable coaſt of Pata-

gonia, at Port Defire, or St. Julian. The fquadron would double Cape Horn, or would go through the Straits of Magellan, according to the different feafons of the year. If they fhould chance to feparate, they would meet again at the defert ifland of Socoro, and then attack Baldivia with their united force.

This fortrefs, the only one that covers Chili, being carried by a fudden and impetuous attack, what fervice, for the defence of the country, could be expected from enervated and unexperienced citizens, againft troops inured to difcipline and military exercifes? What could they do againft the Araucos, and other favages, always difpofed to renew their cruelties and their ravages?

The coafts of Peru would make ftill lefs refiftance. They are all defended only by Callao, where a bad garrifon of fix hundred men would foon capitulate. The reduction of this famous port would open the way to Lima, which is no more than two leagues off, and incapable of making any defence. The feeble fuccours that could be fent to the two cities from the inland parts, where there are no foldiers, would not fave them; and the fquadron would eafily intercept any that might come from Panama by fea. Panama itfelf, which is furrounded only by a wall, without a ditch or any outworks, would be obliged to furrender. The garrifon, continually weakened by detachments that muft be fent to Chagre, to Porto-Bello, and to other pofts, would be unable to repulfe the moft trifling force.

Anfon was of opinion, that the coafts being once fubdued, the reft of the empire would foon be obliged to fubmit. This idea was founded upon the effeminacy, cowardice, and ignorance of thefe people in the management of arms. According to his informations, a bold enemy would have had nearly as much advantage over the Spaniards, as they themfelves had over the Americans at the period of the difcovery.

Such were, thirty years ago, the ideas of one of the greateft feamen England ever had. But we may ima-

gine that he would not talk in this ſtyle at preſent. The court of Madrid, rouſed by the humiliations and misfortunes of the laſt war, have ſent well-diſciplined troops into Peru, and have intruſted the fortified places to experienced commanders. The ſpirit of the militia is entirely changed in this part of the New World. What, perhaps, was poſſible, is now no more ſo. An invaſion would more particularly become a chimerical idea, if, in that diſtant region, the land forces were ſupported by proportionate maritime ſtrength. We ſhall even venture to affirm, that the junction of theſe two forces would infallibly expel the flag of all other nations from theſe roads.

The operations of the ſquadron ſhould not be limited, either to the fighting of the enemy, or to the keeping of them at a diſtance. The ſhips of which it would conſiſt might be uſefully employed in producing, or in collecting upon theſe coaſts, the articles which either do not grow there, or which are loſt from the difficulty of exportation. Theſe encouragements would probably awaken the coloniſts from the lethargic ſtate in which they have continued for three centuries. When they were aſſured that the produce of their cultures would reach Panama without expence, and would there be embarked upon the Chagre, to be conveyed into Europe, at a very moderate rate, they would feel themſelves inclined to labours, the reward of which would no longer be doubtful. This activity would increaſe, if the court of Madrid would reſolve to dig a canal of five leagues, which would complete the communication between the two ſeas, already ſo much advanced by a navigable river. The general good of nations, and the advantage of commerce, required, that the Iſthmus of Panama and the Iſthmus of Suez ſhould be open to navigation, and ſhould draw the limits of the world nearer to each other. Oriental deſpotiſm, and Spaniſh indolence, have for too long a time deprived the globe of ſo conſiderable a benefit.

If from the South we go on to the North Sea, we ſhall find that the Spaniſh empire is eſtabliſhed there,

from the Miſſiſſippi to the Oroonoko. There are, throughout this immenſe ſpace, many inacceſſible ſhores, and a ſtill greater number where it would be uſeleſs to land. All the ports that are conſidered as important, ſuch as Vera Cruz, Chagre, Porto-Bello, Carthagena, and Puerto-Cabello, are fortified, and ſome of them are ſo upon good principles. Experience, however, hath ſhown, that none of theſe places are impregnable. They might, therefore, be forced again: but of what ſervice would this ſucceſs be? The conquerors, who would find it impoſſible to penetrate into the inland countries, would be confined in fortreſſes, where an air, which is dangerous in all ſeaſons, and fatal during ſix months of the year, to men who are accuſtomed to a temperate climate, would ſooner or later bring them to the grave.

If even, contrary to all probability, the conqueſt ſhould be completed, can it be imagined that the Spaniſh Americans, who from taſte, idleneſs, ignorance, habit, and pride, have an exceſſive attachment to their religion and to their laws, would not break, at one time or other, the chains that had been impoſed upon them? If, to prevent this revolution, it ſhould be reſolved to exterminate them, this cruel expedient would be as great a folly in politics, as it would be horrible in morality. The nation that had been guilty of this exceſs of barbarity could not reap any advantage from its new poſſeſſions, without ſacrificing to them its population, its activity, its induſtry, and, in proceſs of time, all its power.

Theſe various obſtacles to the invaſion of Spaniſh America, had, as it is ſaid, ſuggeſted in England, during the laſt hoſtilities, the idea of a ſyſtem aſtoniſhing to vulgar minds. The project of this power, which was then miſtreſs of all the ſeas, was to ſeize upon Vera Cruz, and to fortify itſelf there in a very ſtrong manner. It would not have been propoſed to Mexico to ſubmit to a foreign yoke, for which it was known to have too great an averſion; but the plan was to detach that region from the mother-country, to make

it the arbiter of its own deſtiny, and to leave it at liberty, either to chooſe a ſovereign of its own, or to form itſelf into a republic. As there were no troops in the country, the revolution was infallible; and it would equally have taken place in all the provinces of this vaſt continent, which had the ſame motives for deſiring it, and the ſame facility of carrying it into execution. The efforts of the court of Madrid, to recover its rights, would have been unavailing, becauſe Great Britain took upon herſelf to repel them, upon condition that the new ſtates ſhould grant her an excluſive trade, but upon terms infinitely leſs unfavourable than thoſe by which they had for ſo long a time been oppreſſed.

If it were true that ſuch ideas had ever ſeriouſly engaged the attention of the cabinet of London, they muſt have renounced theſe ambitious views, ſince the court of Madrid have taken the reſolution to keep regular and European forces in their poſſeſſions in the New World. Theſe forces will contain the nations, and repel the enemy, ſtrengthened as they are at preſent with a reſpectable navy.

As ſoon as the Spaniards had diſcovered another hemiſphere, they thought of appropriating to themſelves every part of it. To give ſome eclat to their adminiſtration, the chiefs of the great ſettlements already formed, were continually undertaking new enterpriſes; and private perſons, paſſionately purſuing the ſame kind of fame, generally followed theſe brilliant projects. The calamities inſeparable from a career ſo little known, had not yet altered this active and indefatigable courage, when ſome bold and enterpriſing navigators ventured to direct their courſe towards regions, forbidden to every other nation, except that which had conquered them. The ſucceſs which attended this boldneſs, convinced Philip II. that it was time to ſet bounds to his ambition; and he renounced acquiſitions, which might expoſe his arms or his fleets to inſults. This timid, or perhaps only prudent policy, was attended with more important conſequences

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than had been foreseen. The spirit of enthusiasm was at an end, and that of inactivity succeeded to it. A new race of men was formed in the Indies. The people sank into superb effeminacy, and those who governed them no longer attended to any thing but the accumulation of riches; and the dignities that accompanied them, which had formerly been reserved to talents, to zeal, and to services, were now purchased. At this period a stop was put to navigation, both in America and in Europe.

A few vessels only, ill built, ill armed, ill fitted out, and ill commanded, were dispatched from the ports of the mother-country. Spain could not be awakened from its lethargy, either from the terrible blows which it received from its enemies, or with the ruinous extortions it experienced from its allies.

At length, after two centuries of total inactivity, the docks are again revived. The Spanish navy hath acquired real strength. It consists, at the time of our writing, of sixty-eight ships of the line, carrying from one hundred and fourteen to sixty guns, and five of these are upon the stocks; and of eighty other ships, carrying from fifty-six to twelve guns. There are fifty thousand seamen upon its lists, a great number of whom serve in the armaments fitted out by government. Many of them are also employed in the merchantmen of Biscay, of Majorca, and of Catalonia. Some are wanted for about a hundred small vessels, regularly destined for the American islands, where so few were formerly sent. They will multiply still more, when the voyages to the continent of the other Hemisphere shall be undertaken with all the freedom which the first regulations seem to announce. The seas, which separate the two Worlds, will be covered with robust, active, and intelligent men, who will become the defenders of their country's rights, and will render her fleets formidable.

Spanish monarchs, ye are intrusted with the happiness of the most brilliant parts of the two Hemispheres. Show yourselves worthy of so glorious a destiny. In fulfilling this august and sacred duty, ye will repair

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the injuries done by your predeceffors and by their fubjects. They have depopulated a world which they had difcovered; they have put millions of mankind to death. Their conduct hath been ftill more atrocious, not only in enflaving them, but alfo in reducing thofe whom their fword hath fpared to the condition of brutes. Thofe whom they have flain, have fuffered only for an inftant, while the wretches whom they have permitted to live, muft have often envied the fate of their murdered brethren. Pofterity will not forgive you, till harvefts fhall arife in thofe fields which you have manured with fo much innocent blood; and till thofe immenfe fpaces which you have laid wafte fhall be covered with happy and free inhabitants." If ye would know the period in which you may perhaps be abfolved of all your crimes, it will be when you fhall revive, in idea, fome one of the ancient monarchs of Mexico and Peru, and placing him in the midft of his poffeffions, fhall be able to fay to him, BEHOLD THE PRESENT STATE OF YOUR COUNTRY, AND OF YOUR SUBJECTS; INTERROGATE THEM, AND FORM YOUR JUDGMENT OF US.

BOOK IX.

Settlement of the Portuguefe in the Brazils. The Wars they have fuftained there. Produce and Riches of that Country.

BOOK IX.

Whether the Europeans have been well acquainted with the art of founding colonies.

A NATIONAL fpirit is the refult of a great number of caufes, fome of which are permanent, and others variable. This part of the hiftory of a people is perhaps the moft interefting, and the leaft difficult to inveftigate. The permanent caufes are to be found on the portion of the globe which they inhabit; the variable ones are configned in their annals, and manifefted by the effects which they have produced. While thefe caufes act in oppofition to each other, the nation is in a ftate of infanity, and doth not begin to recover its

BOOK IX. proper underſtanding, till the time when its ſpeculative principles coincide with the nature of its ſituation. Then it is, that it advances rapidly towards that ſplendour, opulence, and felicity, to which it may be allowed to aſpire from a free uſe of its local reſources.

But this national ſpirit, which ought to preſide in the counſels of the people, though it be not always to be found there, ſcarce ever regulates the actions of individuals. They have intereſts of their own, and paſſions which torment and blind them; and there is ſcarce any one who would not raiſe his proſperity upon the public ruin. The capitals of empires are the centre of the national ſpirit, that is to ſay, the places where it diſplays itſelf with the greateſt energy in words, and where it is the moſt completely neglected in actions. I except only ſome unfrequent inſtances, where the general ſafety is at ſtake. In proportion as the diſtance from the capital increaſes, this maſk detaches itſelf; it falls off on the frontiers; and, between one hemiſphere and another, is totally loſt.

When a man hath croſſed the line, he is neither an Engliſhman, a Dutchman, a Frenchman, a Spaniard, or a Portugueſe. He preſerves nothing of his country, except the principles and prejudices which give a ſanction to his conduct, or furniſh him with an excuſe for it. Servile when he is weak, and oppreſſive when he is ſtrong; eager to acquire wealth, and to enjoy it; and capable of all the enormities which can contribute moſt ſpeedily to the completion of his deſigns; he is a domeſtic tiger again let looſe in the woods, and who is again ſeized with the thirſt of blood. Such have all the Europeans indiſcriminately ſhown themſelves in the regions of the New World, where they have been actuated with one common rage, the paſſion for gold.

Would it not have been a more humane, more uſeful, and leſs expenſive plan, to have ſent into each of thoſe diſtant regions ſome hundreds of young men and women? The men would have married the women, and the women the men of the country. Conſangui-

nity, the tie that is the moſt ſpeedily formed, and the ſtrongeſt, would ſoon have made one and the ſame family of the ſtrangers and of the natives.

In this intimate connection, the ſavage inhabitant would ſoon have underſtood that the arts and ſciences conveyed into his country were very conducive to the improvement of his deſtiny. He would have entertained the higheſt opinion of the perſuaſive and mild inſtructors brought to him by the ſea, and he would have given himſelf up to them without reſerve.

From this fortunate confidence peace would have ariſen, which would have been impracticable, if the new comers had preſented themſelves with the imperious and authoritative tone of maſters and uſurpers. Commerce is eſtabliſhed without difficulty among men who have reciprocal wants; and they ſoon accuſtom themſelves to conſider as friends and as brethren thoſe whom intereſt or other motives have brought into their country. The Indians would have adopted the European form of worſhip, becauſe a religion becomes univerſal among all the inhabitants of an empire, when the government leaves it to itſelf, and when the folly and intolerant ſpirit of the prieſts doth not convert it into a principle of diſcord. In like manner, civilization follows from the propenſity which urges every man to improve his ſituation, provided there be no deſire to compel him to it by force, and that theſe advantages be not preſented to him by ſuſpicious ſtrangers.

Such would be the effects that would be produced in a riſing colony by the allurement of the moſt imperious of the ſenſes. Let there be no arms and no ſoldiers; but a multitude of young women for the men, and numbers of young men for the women. Let us examine what the Portugueſe have done in Brazil by purſuing contrary methods.

When, and by whom, Brazil was diſcovered.

Brazil is an immenſe continent, bounded on the north by the river of the Amazons, on the ſouth by the river Plata, on the eaſt by the ſea, and on the weſt

BOOK IX. by moraſſes, lakes, torrents, rivers, and mountains, which ſeparate it from the Spaniſh poſſeſſions.

If Columbus had continued his courſe to the ſouth, when he came to the entrance of the Oroonoko in 1499, he could not poſſibly have miſſed the Brazils; but he choſe to ſteer to the north-weſt, that he might not go too far from St. Domingo, the only ſettlement belonging to the Spaniards in the New World.

Peter Alvarez Cabral had the honour of diſcovering the Brazils the following year by a fortunate chance.

How doth it happen that this is the caſe in almoſt all diſcoveries; and that chance hath always more ſhare in them than ingenuity? It is becauſe chance is ever employed, while the human underſtanding is checked by indolence, changes its objects through inconſtancy, repoſes itſelf through laſſitude or tedium, and is thrown into a ſtate of inactivity by a number of moral, natural, domeſtic, or national cauſes. Moſt diſcoveries are therefore owing to chance, or to that infinite number of men, who are always in motion, and whoſe attention is conſtantly engaged on all the objects that ſurround, or ſtrike them, oftentimes without any deſign of gaining information, or of making thoſe diſcoveries, but merely becauſe they make uſe of their ſenſes.

To avoid falling in with the calms on the coaſt of Africa, Cabral kept ſo far out at ſea, that he came within ſight of an unknown land lying to weſtward. He was driven thither by ſtreſs of weather, and anchored on the coaſt in the 15th degree of ſouth latitude, at a place which he called Porto-Seguro. He took poſſeſſion of the country, but made no ſettlement in it, and gave it the name of Santa Cruz, which was afterwards changed for that of Brazil, becauſe the Brazil wood was the moſt valuable production of that country to the Europeans, who uſed it in dyeing.

As this country had been diſcovered in going to India, and as it was doubtful whether it was not a part of that country, the ſame name was given to it, be-

caufe the Spaniards had imagined that it might be referred to thofe countries they had previoufly difcovered. All the Europeans, however, diftinguifhed them by the appellation of Weft Indies. This name was afterwards extended to all the New World, and the Americans were very improperly called Indians.

Thus it is that the names of places and things, accidentally given by ignorant men, have always perplexed philofophers, who have been defirous of tracing the origin of thefe names from nature, and not from circumftances merely incidental, and oftentimes quite foreign to the natural properties of the things denoted by them. Nothing can be more ftrange, for inftance, than to fee Europe tranfplanted into America, and there regenerated, as it were, in the names and forms of our European cities, and in the laws, manners, and religion of our continent. But fooner or later the climate will refume its influence, and reinftate things in their proper order, and with their original names, though with thofe veftiges of the change they have undergone, which a great revolution always leaves behind it. Is it not probable, that, in three or four thoufand years hence, the hiftory of America at this prefent period will be as confufed, and as inexplicable to its inhabitants, as the hiftory of Europe, previous to the rife of the Roman republic, is obfcure to us? Thus it is that men, the knowledge they have acquired, and the conjectures they have formed, either with refpect to events that are paffed, or to future tranfactions, are all fubject to the laws and motions of nature, which purfues her own courfe, without paying the leaft regard either to our projects or to our opinions.

Account of the firft inhabitants conveyed by Portugal into the Brazils.

Nothing can afford us a more convincing proof of this great truth, than the imprudence and uncertainty of all the defigns and actions of men even in their moft important undertakings, the blindnefs with which their inquiries are purfued, and more efpecially the improper ufe they make of their difcoveries. As foon as the court of Lifbon had ordered a furvey to be taken of the harbours, bays, rivers, and coafts of

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Brazil, and was convinced that the country afforded neither gold nor ſilver, they held it in ſuch contempt, that they ſent thither none but condemned criminals and abandoned women.

Two ſhips were ſent every year from Portugal, to carry the refuſe of the kingdom to this New World, and to bring home parrots, and woods for the dyers and cabinetmakers. Ginger was afterwards added, but was ſoon prohibited, leſt it ſhould interfere with the ſale of the ſame article from India.

Aſia was then the object that attracted all men. I was the road to fortune, to power, and to fame. The great exploits of the Portugueſe in India, and the wealth they brought from thence, gave their nation ſuch a ſuperiority in all parts of the world, that every individual wiſhed to partake of it. The enthuſiaſm was general. No perſon, indeed, went over voluntarily to America; but thoſe unfortunate men, whom the inquiſition had doomed to deſtruction, were added to the convicts already tranſported thither.

There never was a ſtronger and more inveterate hatred than that which the Portugueſe have always entertained againſt the Spaniards. Notwithſtanding this national antipathy, which is of ſo long a ſtanding that its origin cannot be traced, and ſo confirmed that it can never be expected to ceaſe, they have borrowed moſt of their maxims from a neighbour, whoſe power they dreaded as much as they deteſted its manners. Whether from a ſimilarity of climate and temper, or from a conformity of circumſtances, they have adopted the worſt of its inſtitutions, they could not imitate any one more horrid than the inquiſition.

This bloody tribunal, erected in Spain in 1482, by a combination of policy and fanaticiſm, under the reign of Ferdinand and Iſabella, was no ſooner adopted by John III. than it ſtruck terror into every family. To eſtabliſh its authority, and afterwards to ſupport it, no leſs than four or five hundred victims were annually ſacrificed, a tenth part of which was burnt alive, and the reſt baniſhed to Africa or to the Bra-

zils. The fury of this tribunal was particularly exerted against thofe who were fufpected of fodomy; a crime of later date in the kingdom, and almoft unavoidable in hot climates, where celibacy prevails. It alfo profecuted forcerers, who, in thofe times of ignorance, were as much dreaded as their number was multiplied, by the credulity, bigotry, and barbarifm that prevailed all over Europe. The Mohammedans, though greatly decreafed fince they had loft the empire, were alfo perfecuted by the inquifition; but more efpecially the Jews, becaufe they were the richeft.

It is well known, that when the Jews, who had long been confined to a very fmall fpot upon the face of the earth, were difperfed by the Romans, many of them took refuge in Portugal. There they multiplied after the Arabs had conquered Spain, were fuffered to enjoy all the rights of citizens, and were not excluded from public offices, till that country had recovered its independence. This firft act of oppreffion did not prevent twenty thoufand Jewifh families from removing thither, when, after the conqueft of Granada, the Catholic kings compelled them to quit Spain, or to change their religion. Each family paid twenty livres [16s. 8d.] for the liberty of fettling in Portugal. Superftition foon induced John II. to aggravate the fufferings of that perfecuted nation: He demanded of them 20,000 crowns [2500l.], and afterwards reduced them to a ftate of flavery. In 1496, Emanuel banifhed all thofe who refufed to embrace the Chriftian religion; thofe who complied were reftored to their freedom, and foon engroffed the Afiatic trade, which then began to be laid open to every one. The eftablifhment of the inquifition, in 1548, proved a check to their activity. Their miftruft was increafed by the frequent confifcations made by that odious tribunal, and by the taxes which government extorted from them at different times. They were in hopes of purchafing fome tranquillity, by furnifhing Sebaftian with 250,000 livres [10,427l. 13s. 4d.] for his African expedition; but, unfortunately for them, that impru-

BOOK IX. dent monarch came to an untimely end. Philip II. who ſoon after extended his dominion over Portugal, enacted, that ſuch of his ſubjects as were deſcended from a Jew or a Moor, ſhould be excluded from all eccleſiaſtical or civil employments. This mark of infamy, with which all the new converts to Chriſtianity were branded, gave them ſuch a diſguſt for a country, where even the greateſt opulence could not exempt them from being ſtigmatized, that they removed, with their wealth, to Bourdeaux, Antwerp, Hamburgh, and other towns, with which they had regular connections. This emigration was the occaſion of a great revolution; it diverted the commerce, which till then had centered in Spain and Portugal, into other countries, and deprived thoſe two nations of the advantages the one derived from the Eaſt, and the other from the Weſt Indies.

Before theſe laſt periods, the Jews, who were unremittingly perſecuted by the inquiſition, were baniſhed in numbers to the Brazils. Though deprived of their fortunes by theſe inſatiable leeches, they ſucceeded in eſtabliſhing ſome cultures. This fortunate beginning convinced the court of Liſbon that a colony might be ſerviceable to the mother-country by other means than by metals. They began, as early as the year 1525, to caſt a leſs diſdainful look on this immenſe poſſeſſion, which chance had beſtowed upon them, and which had till then been conſidered as the ſink into which all the filth of the monarchy was poured.

Brazil divided between ſeveral noblemen by the court of Liſbon.

The nation ſoon adopted the opinion of the miniſtry, and the noblemen eſpecially were firſt animated with this new ſpirit. Government granted, ſucceſſively, to thoſe among them who aſked for it, a ſpace of forty or fifty leagues upon the coaſt, with an unlimited extent in the interior parts of the country. They were authoriſed by their charter to treat the vanquiſhed people in whatever manner they choſe. They had a right, which moſt of them exerciſed, to diſpoſe of the territory they had invaded, in favour of any Portugueſe who would cultivate it; but they diſpoſed of it only

for three lives, reſerving alſo to themſelves ſome rent-charges. Theſe great proprietors were to enjoy all the rights of ſovereignty, except that of condemning to death, coining, and the tithes; prerogatives which the court kept in their hands. Theſe uſeful and honourable fiefs could only be forfeited by the neglecting to cultivate and defend them, by the deficiency of male iſſue, or by the commiſſion of ſome capital crime.

Thoſe who had ſolicited and obtained theſe provinces, expected to acquire the poſſeſſion of them without much expence, and without expoſing their lieutenants to any great danger. Their hopes were chiefly founded upon the indolence of the ſmall nations they were to conquer.

Character and cuſtoms of the people whom the Portugueſe wiſhed to ſubdue.

Man is undoubtedly formed for ſociety; his wants and his weakneſſes require it. But ſocieties of twenty or thirty millions of men, cities conſiſting of four or five hundred thouſand ſouls, are ſo many monſtrous productions, which are ſo far from being formed by nature, that ſhe, on the contrary, is inceſſantly ſtudying to deſtroy them. They are only ſupported by conſtant foreſight, and by moſt extraordinary efforts. They would ſoon be diſſipated, if a conſiderable portion of this multitude did not attend to their preſervation. The air is infected by them, the waters are corrupted; the land exhauſted to a great extent; the duration of life is ſhortened among them; the ſweets of plenty are but little felt, and the horrors of dearth are extreme. They are the ſpot which gives birth to epidemic diſeaſes; they are the haunts of crimes, of vices, and of diſſolute manners. Theſe enormous and fatal heaps of men are likewiſe one of the ſcourges of ſovereignty, ſince cupidity invites around the throne, and perpetually increaſes the herd of ſlaves, under an infinite variety of functions and denominations. Theſe unnatural aſſemblages of population, are ſubject to ferment and to corrupt during peace; and if war ſhould increaſe the ferment, the ſhock becomes dreadful.

Societies, in a ſtate of nature, are little numerous; they ſubſiſt of themſelves. They ſeparate before a

BOOK IX. superabundance of population becomes troublesome. Each division removes to convenient distances. Such was the primitive state of the New Countries; such is that of the New Continent.

The Brazilians in general were of the size of the Europeans, but not so stout. They were subject to fewer distempers, and were long-lived. They wore no clothing; the women wore their hair extremely long, the men cut theirs short; the women wore bracelets of bones of a beautiful white, the men necklaces of the same; the women painted their faces, and the men their bodies.

Every colony of this vast continent had its own idioms, but not one of them had any words to convey general and abstract ideas. This poverty of language, which is common to all nations of South America, is a convincing proof of the little progress the human understanding had made in these countries. The analogy between the words in the several languages of this continent shows, that the reciprocal transmigrations of these savages had been frequent.

The food of the Brazilians was very simple. In a country deprived of domestic animals, they lived upon shell-fish by the sea side; along the rivers, by fishing; and in the forests, by hunting. When these precarious provisions failed, they fed upon the cassava and other roots.

These men were very fond of dancing. Their songs were but one tedious uniform tone, without any modulations, and commonly turned upon their loves or their warlike exploits.

In polished states, dancing and singing are reckoned among the arts. In the midst of the forests they are almost the natural expressions of concord and friendship, of tenderness and pleasure. We are obliged to have masters to instruct us to display our voices, and to move gracefully. The savage hath no other instructor but his passion, his heart and nature. He really feels what we affect to feel. Accordingly, the savage who sings and dances is always happy.

Their amuſements are not interrupted by the worſhip of a Supreme Being, for they know of none; nor is their tranquillity diſturbed by the dread of a future ſtate, of which they have no idea. They have, however, their magicians, who, by ſtrange contortions, ſo far work upon the credulity of the people as to throw them into violent convulſions. If the impoſtures of theſe magicians are detected, they are immediately put to death, which ſerves, in ſome degree, to check the ſpirit of deceit.

Theſe atheiſts are equally ſtrangers to all notions of ſubordination and ſubmiſſion, which among ourſelves are originally derived from the idea of a Supreme Being. They cannot conceive that any perſon can have the audacity to command, much leſs that any one can be ſo weak as to obey. But they ſhow moſt deference to the man who has killed the greateſt number of his enemies.

The Brazilians, like moſt other ſavages, ſhowed no particular attachment to their native place. The love of our country, which is a ruling paſſion in civilized ſtates; which in good governments riſes to enthuſiaſm, and in bad ones grows habitual; which for ſeveral centuries together perpetuates in every nation its diſpoſition, cuſtoms, and taſte: this love of our country is but a factitious ſentiment ariſing from ſociety, but unknown in the ſtate of nature. The moral life of a ſavage is the very reverſe of that of the civilized man. The latter enjoys the gifts of nature only in his infancy. As his ſtrength increaſes and his underſtanding unfolds itſelf, he loſes ſight of the preſent, and is wholly intent upon the future. Thus the age of paſſions and pleaſures, the time deſtined by nature for enjoyment, is ſpent in ſpeculation and diſappointment. The heart denies itſelf what it wiſhes for, laments the indulgences it has allowed itſelf, and is equally tormented by its ſelf-denials and its gratifications. The civilized man, inceſſantly deploring his liberty which he hath always ſacrificed, looks back with regret on his earlieſt years, when a ſucceſſion of new objects conſtantly a-

BOOK IX. wakened his curiofity, and kept his hopes alive. He recollects with pleafure the fpot where he paffed his infant days; the remembrance of his innocent delights endears them to his imagination, and forcibly attracts him to his native fpot; whereas the favage, who enjoys all the pleafures and advantages peculiar to every period of his life, and does not abftain from them in expectation of greater indulgence in old age, finds equally, in all places, objects fuited to his defires, and feels that the fource of his pleafures is in himfelf, and that his country is every where.

Though the tranquillity of the Brazilians was not the refult of any laws, diffenfions were feldom heard of in their little focieties. If drunkennefs, or fome unfortunate incident, occafioned a difpute, and fome life was loft, the murderer was inftantly delivered up to the relations of the deceafed, who immediately facrificed him to their vengeance without hefitation; then both the families met, and their reconciliation was fealed by a joyous and noify feaft.

Every Brazilian took as many wives as he chofe, or as many as he could get, and put them away when he grew tired of them. When they violated their marriage vow, they were punifhed, according to a cuftom almoft generally adopted, with death, and the hufband did not become an object of ridicule on account of the injury his wife had done him. When the women laid in, they kept their bed but a day or two; then the mother, hanging the child to her neck in a cotton fcarf, returned to her ufual occupations without any kind of inconvenience.

In general, the confequences of child-birth among the favages, are not fo bad as they are among the women of civilized countries, becaufe the firft always fuckle their children, and becaufe the indolence of the men condemns them to a laborious life, which occafions the menftrual flux in them to be lefs plentiful, and renders the channels, through which this fuperfluous blood is to flow, fo much the more narrow. A long reft after child-birth, far from being neceffary,

would become as fatal to them, as it would be among us to our women of the lower clafs. This is not the only circumftance in which we find a compenfation for the advantages of the feveral ranks of life. We feel the want of exercife, and go into the country in fearch of health. Our women begin to deferve the name of mothers, by fuckling their own children; the children too are juft refcued from the fhackles of fwaddling clothes. What can thefe innovations be attributed to, but to the confcioufnefs that man cannot deviate imprudently from the laws of nature, without injury to his own happinefs? In all future ages, the favages will advance by flow degrees towards the civilized ftate; and civilized nations will return towards their primitive ftate; from whence the philofopher will conclude, that there exifts in the interval between thefe two ftates, a certain medium, in which the felicity of the human fpecies is placed. But who is it that can find out this medium? and even if it were found, what authority would be capable of directing the fteps of man to it, and to fix him there?

Travellers were received with diftinguifhed marks of civility in the Brazils. Wherever they came, they were furrounded with women, who wafhed their feet, and welcomed them with the moft obliging expreffions. Nothing was fpared for their entertainment; but it would have been an unpardonable affront, had they left the family where they were firft entertained, in hopes of better accommodation in another. This fpirit of hofpitality is one of the moft certain indications that man was intended for fociety.

Hofpitality, the offspring of natural commiferation, was univerfally practifed in the earlieft times. It was almoft the only thing that attached nations to each other: it was the fource of the moft ancient, the moft lafting, and the moft refpected friendfhip, contracted between families who were feparated by immenfe regions. A man, perfecuted by his fellow-citizens, or guilty of any mifdemeanour, retired to diftant countries in queft of tranquillity or impunity. He prefent-

BOOK IX. ed himſelf at the entrance of a town, or of a village, and ſaid, "I am ſuch a one, the ſon of ſuch a one, or "the grandſon of ſuch a one, and I come for ſuch "reaſons." And then he related his ſtory, or his invented tale, in the manner the moſt marvellous, the moſt pathetic, and the beſt calculated to give an idea of his conſequence. He was eagerly attended to; and he added, "Receive me; for, if you or your children, "or your children's children, ſhould ever be driven "by any misfortunes to my country, they need only "name me, and my friends will receive them." He was immediately entreated to become their gueſt, and the perſons with whom he preferred to live thought themſelves honoured by this diſtinction. He took up his abode in their houſe, and was treated by them like one of the family; ſometimes he became the huſband, the raviſher, or the ſeducer of his hoſt's daughter.

To ſuch adventurers as theſe, who were, perhaps, the firſt travellers, the origin of the demigods of paganiſm, the offspring of hoſpitality and licentiouſneſs, may be aſcribed. Moſt of them owed their birth to paſſengers, to whom a bed had been given, and who were never ſeen afterwards.

Let us be allowed to ſay, that there is no occupation in the world ſo immoral as that of a traveller. The traveller by profeſſion is like a man who is in poſſeſſion of an immenſe houſe; and who, inſtead of ſitting down with his wife, and in the midſt of his children, ſhould employ all his life in ranging about from one apartment to another. Tyranny, guilt, ambition, curioſity, a kind of reſtleſs ſpirit, the deſire of acquiring knowledge, and of ſeeing things, tedium, and the diſguſt ariſing from exhauſted felicity, have driven, and will at all times drive, men from their country.

But, in ages previous to civilization, to commerce, and to the invention of ſigns to repreſent riches, before intereſt had prepared a habitation for the traveller, hoſpitality ſupplied its place. The favourable reception of a ſtranger was conſidered as a ſacred debt, which was often repaid after the lapſe of ſeveral cen-

turies, by the defcendants of the perfon who had been the object of it; and who, upon his return into his own country, took a delight in repeating the favours he had received, the remembrance of which was conftantly preferved in his family.

Thefe affecting inftances of humanity have decreafed, in proportion as the intercoufe between nations hath been facilitated. Induftrious, rapacious, and interefted men have formed, in all parts, fettlements, where the traveller alights, where he commands, and where he difpofes of all the conveniences of life, as if he were at home. The mafter, or the landlord, of the houfe, is neither his benefactor, his brother, nor his friend; he is only his upper fervant. The gold that he fpends at his houfe entitles him to treat his hoft as he choofes; he cares not for your refpect, but for your money. When you quit his houfe, he thinks no more of you; nor do you recollect him, any farther than as you have been either difpleafed or fatisfied with him. Hofpitality, that facred virtue which is extinguifhed amongft all nations where civilization and focial inftitutions have made any progrefs, is no longer found but among the favages, and more particularly in the Brazils than in any other country.

Far from fhowing that indifference or weaknefs which makes us fhun the dead, and makes us unwilling to fpeak of them, or to remain in the places that might recal their image to our minds, the Brazilians beheld their dead with tender emotions, recounted their exploits with complacency, and celebrated their virtues with tranfport. They were buried upright in a round grave; and if the deceafed was the head of a family, his plumes, his necklaces, and his arms, were interred with him. When a clan removed to another place, which often happened, merely for the fake of changing, every family fixed fome remarkable ftones over the graves of their moft refpectable relations; and they never approached thofe monuments of grief, without breaking out into dreadful outcries, not unlike the

ſhouts with which they made the air reſound when they were going to battle.

Motives of intereſt or ambition never prompted the Brazilians to war. The deſire of avenging their relations or friends was always the occaſion of their moſt ſanguinary conteſts. Their chiefs, or rather their orators, were old men, who determined the commencement of hoſtilities, gave the ſignal for marching, and exerted themſelves during the march, in repeated expreſſions of implacable hatred. Sometimes even the march of the army was ſuſpended, to liſten to theſe paſſionate harangues, that laſted for many hours. This cuſtom makes thoſe long ſpeeches we meet with in Homer, and in the Roman hiſtorians, appear more probable; but in thoſe days the noiſe of the artillery did not drown the voices of the generals.

The combatants were armed with a club of ebony, ſix feet long, one foot broad, and an inch thick. Their bows and arrows were of the ſame wood. Their inſtruments of martial muſic were flutes made of the bones of their enemies. They were as well calculated to inſpire courage as our drums, which ſtifle our ſenſe of danger, and as our trumpets, which give the ſignal, and perhaps the fear, of death. Their generals were the ſoldiers who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves moſt in former wars.

The firſt attack was never made openly, but both armies endeavoured to take the advantage of a ſurpriſal. Their courage ſeldom conſiſted in maintaining their ground. The ambition of the Brazilians was to make a great many priſoners, which were ſlain and eaten with ſolemnity. During the feaſt, the old men exhorted the young to become intrepid warriors, that they might often procure themſelves ſuch an honourable repaſt. This inclination for human fleſh was never ſo prevalent as to induce the Brazilians to devour ſuch of their enemies as had fallen in battle: they only ate thoſe who had been taken alive.

The treatment of priſoners of war hath varied ac-

cording to the degree of perfection human reason hath gradually attained. The most civilized nations ransom them, exchange or restore them at the conclusion of a war. Nations that are not yet completely civilized claim them as their property, and make them slaves. The common savages massacre them, without putting them to torture. The most savage people of all torture, kill, and eat them. This is their execrable law of nations.

This anthropophagy hath long been considered as a chimera in the opinion of some sceptical persons. They could not conceive, that any nation could have been reduced to the cruel necessity of feeding upon their fellow-creatures, to satisfy their own wants; and still less could they suppose, that any thing, except an absolute privation of every support of life, could have induced man to commit so atrocious a deed. Since the doubts of the most incredulous have been removed by a great number of facts, by testimonies of higher authority, and by more authentic accounts, some philosophers have attempted to justify this practice of several savage nations. They have still exclaimed with vehemence against the barbarity of the sovereigns who, to satisfy their own caprice, sent their unfortunate subjects to the slaughter-house of war. But they have imagined, that it was a matter of indifference, whether their carcases were devoured by men or by birds.

Perhaps, indeed, this custom hath not in itself any thing criminal, any thing that is repugnant to morality: but how pernicious would be the consequences arising from it? When man is once authorised to eat the flesh of man, if the taste of it should suit his palate, nothing will remain, but to make the stream of blood grateful to the nostrils of the tyrant. Let us then form an idea of these two phenomena, generally prevailing on the face of the globe, and let us fix our eyes upon the human species, if we can possibly bear the sight.

In the Brazils, the heads of the enemies slain in action, or sacrificed after the engagement, were very

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carefully preserved, and shown with ostentation to all strangers, as monuments of valour and victory. The heroes of those savage nations bore their exploits imprinted on their limbs, by incisions which ensured them respect. The more they were disfigured, the greater was their glory.

Ascendant of the missionaries over the natives of Brazil, and over the Portuguese, at the first existence of the colony.

Such manners had not disposed the Brazilians to submit patiently to the yoke that was intended to be imposed upon them: but what could the savages oppose to the arms and discipline of Europe? A considerable number of them had submitted, when, in 1549, the court of Lisbon thought proper to send over a governor, to regulate an establishment which till then had been left to the fury and the caprices of a set of banditti. Thomas de Sousa, indeed, by building San Salvador, gave a centre to the colony; but the honour of restoring it to any kind of tranquillity was reserved to the Jesuits who attended him. Those intrepid men, who have always been prompted by motives of religion, or of ambition, to undertake great actions, dispersed themselves among the Indians. Such of these missionaries as were murdered from hatred to the Portuguese name, were immediately replaced by others, who were inspired with none but sentiments of peace and charity. This magnanimity confounded the barbarians, who had never had any idea of forgiveness. By degrees they began to place some confidence in men who seemed to seek them only with a view of making them happy. Their attachment to the missionaries grew into a passionate fondness. When a Jesuit was expected in one of their nations, the young people flocked to meet him, concealing themselves in the woods along the road. As he drew near, they sallied forth, played upon their pipes, beat their drums, danced, and made the air resound with joyful songs; and, in a word, omitted nothing that could express their satisfaction. At the entrance of the village, the old men and chief inhabitants were assembled, who expressed as much joy, but with more sedateness. A little further on, stood the women and young girls, in

a refpectful pofture fuitable to their fex. Then they all joined, and conducted their father in triumph to the place where they were affembled. There he inftructed them in the fundamental doctrines of religion; exhorted them to a regularity of manners, to a love of juftice, to brotherly charity, and to an abhorrence for human blood; after which he baptized them.

As thefe miffionaries were too few in number to tranfact all the bufinefs themfelves, they frequently deputed fome of the moft intelligent Indians in their ftead. Thefe men, proud of fo glorious an office, diftributed hatchets, knives, and looking-glaffes among the favages they met with, and reprefented the Portuguefe as a harmlefs, humane, and good fort of people. They never returned from their excurfions without bringing with them fome of the Brazilians, who followed them from motives of curiofity. When thofe favages had once feen the Jefuits, it was with difficulty that they ever quitted them. When they returned home, it was to invite their families and friends to come and fhare their happinefs, and to difplay the prefents they had received.

If any one fhould doubt thefe happy effects of kindnefs and humanity over favage nations, let him only compare the progrefs the Jefuits have made, in a very fhort time, in South America, with what the forces and navy of Spain and Portugal have not been able to effect in the fpace of two centuries. While multitudes of foldiers were employed in changing two great and civilized empires into deferts inhabited by roving favages, a few miffionaries have changed little wandering clans into feveral great and civilized nations. If thefe active and courageous men had been lefs infected with the fpirit of the church of Rome; if, when formed into a fociety in the moft intriguing and corrupt court in Europe, they had not infinuated themfelves into other courts, to influence all political events; if they had not difgufted, by their fpirit of intoleration, all moderate perfons, and all the tribunals by

BOOK IX. their paſſion for deſpotiſm; if an outrageous zeal for religion had not made them the ſecret enemies to the progreſs of knowledge, and the perſecutors of philoſophy; if they had employed as much art in making themſelves beloved, as they did in making themſelves feared; if they had been as jealous of increaſing the ſplendour of their ſociety, as of augmenting its power; if the chiefs of the order had not made an ill uſe of the very virtues of their members; the Old and New World would ſtill have reaped the advantage of the occupations of a ſet of men, who might have been made uſeful, had they been prevented from being neceſſary; and the eighteenth century would not have had cauſe to be aſhamed of the enormities that have attended the ſuppreſſion of the ſociety. The whole univerſe would continue to be fertilized by their labours, and by their undertakings.

The Brazilians had too much cauſe of hatred againſt the Europeans, not to miſtruſt their kindneſs; but their diffidence was in ſome meaſure removed by a ſignal act of juſtice.

The Portugueſe had formed the ſettlement of St. Vincent on the ſea-coaſt, in the 24th degree of ſouth latitude. There they traded peaceably with the Cariges, the mildeſt and moſt civilized nation in all the Brazils. The advantages they reaped from this connection could not reſtrain them from ſeizing upon ſeventy men to make ſlaves of them. The perſon who had committed the offence was condemned to carry the priſoners back to the place from whence he had taken them, and to make the proper excuſes for ſo heinous an inſult. Two Jeſuits, who were appointed to diſpoſe the Indians to accept this ſatisfaction, which would never have been offered but at their deſire, gave notice of it to Farancaha, the moſt reſpectable man of his nation. He came out to meet them, and, embracing them with tears of joy; "Fathers," ſaid he, "we "conſent to forget all that is paſt, and to enter into a "freſh alliance with the Portugueſe; but let them for "the future be more moderate, and more obſervant

" of the rights of nations. Our attachment entitles " us at leaſt to equitable proceedings. We are called " barbarians, yet we reſpect juſtice and our friends." The miſſionaries having engaged that for the future their nation ſhould more religiouſly obſerve the laws of peace and unity, Farancaha proceeded thus: " If " you doubt the faith of the Cariges, I will give you " proof of it. I have a nephew, for whom I have a " great affection; he is the hope of my family, and " the comfort of his mother; ſhe would die with grief " if ſhe were to loſe her ſon. Yet I will deliver him " to you as a hoſtage. Take him along with you; " cultivate his young mind; take care of his educa- " tion; and inſtruct him in your religion. Let his " manners be gentle and pure. I hope, when you " return, you will inſtruct me alſo, and enlighten my " mind." Many of the Cariges followed his example, and ſent their children to St. Vincent's for education. The Jeſuits were too artful not to take great advantage of this event; but it does not appear that they ever had any intention to deceive the Indians by inculcating ſubmiſſion. Avarice had not yet poſſeſſed the minds of theſe miſſionaries; and the intereſt they had at court ſecured ſufficient reſpect in the colony to make the ſituation of their converts a fortunate one.

This time of tranquillity was improved. For ſome years paſt, ſugar plants had been tranſplanted from Madeira to Brazil, where the climate and the ſoil were found favourable to this rich produce. The culture of it was at firſt very inconſiderable; but no ſooner was the ſtrength of the Negroes ſubſtituted to the languid labours of the Indians, towards the year 1570, than it received an increaſe. This progreſs was growing daily more conſiderable, becauſe this production, which had been hitherto only of uſe in medicine, became more and more an article of luxury.

Irruption of the French into the Brazils.

This proſperity, which was viſible in all the markets of Europe, excited the cupidity of the French. They attempted to form three or four ſettlements at Brazil. Their levity would not ſuffer them to wait the uſually

BOOK IX. flow progrefs of new undertakings; and merely from inconftancy and impatience, they gave up profpects that were fufficient to have encouraged any, except fuch volatile minds, that are as eafily difcouraged as they are ready to undertake. The only valuable monument we have of their fruitlefs incurfions is a dialogue, which more particularly fhows the natural good fenfe of the favages, as it is written with that fimplicity of ftyle which diftinguifhed the French language two hundred years ago; a fimplicity in which there were graces we cannot ftill but regret.

"The Brazilians," fays Lery, one of the interlocutors, "being very much aftonifhed to fee the French "take fuch pains to get their wood, one of their old "men once afked me this queftion: What can be the "reafon that you Frenchmen come fo far to get wood "for firing? Is there none in your own country? To "which I anfwered, Yes, and a great deal too, but "not fuch as theirs, which we did not burn, as he "thought; but as they themfelves ufed it to dye "their ftrings and their feathers, our people employ"ed it alfo in dyeing. He replied, Well; but do "you want fo great a quantity? Yes, faid I; for in "our country there are fome merchants who have "more rugs and fcarlet cloths than you ever faw in "this country; one of thefe will buy feveral cargoes "of this wood. Ha, ha! fays the favage, thou telleft "me wonders. Then paufing upon what I had been "telling him, he faid, But this very rich man thou "talkeft of, is he never to die? Yes, yes, faid I, as "well as others. Upon which, as they are great talk"ers, he afked me again, So then, when he is dead, to "whom does all the wealth he leaves belong? It goes, "faid I, to his children, or, if he hath none, to his "brothers, fifters, or next of kin. Truly, fays the old "man, now I fee that you Frenchmen are great fools; "for, muft you work fo hard, and crofs the fea, to "heap riches for them that come after you, as if the "earth that had fed you was not fufficient to feed "them likewife? We have children and relations

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"whom we love, as thou seest; but as we are sure "that, after our death, the earth that hath provided "for our subsistence will equally provide for theirs, "we are satisfied."

Conquests of the Dutch in the Brazils.

This mode of reasoning, so natural to savages, whom nature hath exempted from ambition, but so foreign to civilized nations, who have experienced all the ill effects of luxury and avarice, made no great impression on the French. They could not withstand the temptation of riches, which all the maritime nations in Europe thirsted after at that time. The Dutch, who were become republicans by chance, and merchants from necessity, were more persevering and more successful than the French in their attempts on the Brazils. The nation they had to contend with was not more considerable than their own, and, in imitation of them, was preparing to shake off the yoke of Spain, though they still submitted to that of a regal government.

All historical accounts are full of the acts of tyranny and cruelty that excited the Low-Countries to rise against Philip II. The richest provinces were retained, or brought back under the yoke of a tyrannical government, while the poorest, that were in a manner sunk under water, found means, by more than human exertions, to secure their independence. When their liberty was firmly established, they attacked their enemy upon the remotest seas, on the Indus, on the Ganges, and as far as the Moluccas, which made a part of the Spanish dominions, since Portugal had been included in them. The truce of 1609 gave time to that enterprising and fortunate republic to bring her new projects to maturity. These designs were manifested in 1621, by the establishment of a West India Company, from which the same success was expected in Africa and America, that were both comprised in the charter, as the East India Company had experienced in Asia. The operations of the new society began by the attack of Brazil.

Precautions had been taken to procure the necessary

BOOK IX. informations. Some Dutch ſhips had ventured thither, in defiance of the law that prohibited the admittance of any ſtrangers. As they greatly underſold, according to the cuſtom of their country, the commodities that came from Spain, they met with a favourable reception. At their return, the contraband traders reported, that the country was in a kind of anarchy; that foreign dominion had ſtifled in the people the love of their country; that ſelf-intereſt had corrupted their minds; that the ſoldiers were turned merchants; that they had forgotten the firſt principles of war, and that whoever ſhould appear there with a competent force, would infallibly ſurmount the trifling obſtacles that might be oppoſed to the conqueſt of that wealthy region.

The Company committed this undertaking to Jacob Willekins, in 1624. He went directly to the capital. San Salvador ſurrendered at ſight of the Dutch fleet; and the reſt of the province, although it was the moſt extenſive and moſt populous of the colony, made little more reſiſtance.

This was a terrible misfortune, but it did not give any pain to the Spaniſh council. Since that crown had ſubdued Portugal, they did not find the people as ſubmiſſive as they wiſhed them to be. A diſaſter which might render them more dependent, appeared to be a great advantage; and their miniſters congratulated themſelves, upon having at length found an opportunity of aggravating the yoke of their deſpotiſm.

Philip, without entertaining more equitable ideas, or more elevated ſentiments, thought that the majeſty of the throne required of him ſome outward appearance of decency. Accordingly, he wrote to the Portugueſe of the firſt rank, exhorting them to make ſuch generous efforts as the preſent exigencies required. This they were already inclined to. Self-intereſt, patriotiſm, the deſire of throwing a damp upon the joy of their tyrants; all concurred to quicken their alacrity. The monied men laviſhed their treaſures; others raiſed troops; all were eager to enter into the ſervice. In

three months time twenty-ſix ſhips were fitted out, which failed in the beginning of the year 1626, in company with thoſe from Spain, which the tardineſs and policy of that nation had made them wait for much too long.

The archbiſhop of San Salvador, Michael de Texeira, had prepared matters ſo as to facilitate their ſucceſs. That martial prelate, at the head of 1500 men, had at firſt ſtopped the progreſs of the enemy. He had inſulted, haraſſed, beaten, driven, encloſed, and blocked them up in the town. The Dutch, reduced by hunger, fatigue, and want, compelled the governor to ſurrender to the troops which the fleet had landed on their arrival, and they were all carried to Europe.

The ſucceſs of the Company by ſea, made them amends for this loſs. Whenever their ſhips came into port they were victorious, and loaded with the ſpoils of the Spaniards and Portugueſe. They were ſo proſperous as to give umbrage even to the powers moſt intereſted in the welfare of Holland. The ocean was covered with their fleets. Their admirals endeavoured, by uſeful exploits, to preſerve their confidence. The ſubaltern officers aſpired to promotion, by ſeconding the valour and ſkill of their commanders. The ſoldiers and ſailors fought with unparalleled ardour, and nothing could diſcourage thoſe reſolute and intrepid men. The fatigues of the ſea, ſickneſs, and repeated engagements, all ſeemed to inure them to war, and to increaſe their emulation. The Company encouraged this uſeful ſpirit, by frequently diſtributing rewards. Excluſive of their pay, the ſailors were allowed to carry on a private trade, which was a great encouragement, and procured a conſtant ſupply of men. By this wiſe regulation, their intereſt was ſo immediately connected with that of their employers, that they wiſhed to be always in action. They never ſtruck to the enemy, nor ever failed to attack their ſhips with that degree of ſkill, intrepidity, and perſeverance which muſt enſure victory. In the courſe of thirteen years, the Company fitted out eight hundred ſhips, which coſt ninety mil-

BOOK IX. lions [3,750,000l.]. They took five hundred and forty-five of the enemy's ships, which, with the goods on board, fold for 180,000,000 livres [7,500,000l.]. The dividend was never below twenty *per cent.* and often rofe to fifty. This profperity, which was entirely owing to the war, enabled the Company to make a fecond attack upon the Brazils.

Their admiral, Henry Lonk, arrived in the beginning of the year 1630, with forty-fix men of war, on the coaft of Fernambucca, one of the largeft provinces in thofe parts, and the beft fortified. He reduced it after feveral obftinate engagements, in which he was always victorious. The troops he left behind fubdued the neighbouring countries in the years 1633, 1634, and 1635. This was the moft cultivated part of Brazil, and confequently that which afforded moft commodities.

The Company were fo elated with the acquifition of this wealth, which flowed to Amfterdam inftead of Lifbon, that they determined upon the conqueft of all the Brazils, and intrufted Maurice of Naffau with the conduct of that enterprife. That general reached the place of his deftination in the beginning of the year 1637. He found the foldiers fo well difciplined, the commanders fuch experienced men, and fo much readinefs in all to engage, that he directly took the field. He was fucceffively oppofed by Albuquerque, Banjola, Lewis Rocca de Borgia, and the Brazilian Cameron, the idol of his people, paffionately fond of the Portuguefe, brave, active, cunning, and who wanted no qualification neceffary for a general, but to have learned the art of war under able commanders. Thefe feveral chiefs exerted their utmoft efforts to defend the poffeffions that were under their protection; but their endeavours proved ineffectual. The Dutch completed the conqueft of all the coaft extending from San Salvador to the Amazon.

Complaints of a Portuguefe preacher

It was in thefe circumftances that an eloquent Jefuit, named Anthony Vieira, pronounced, in one of the churches of Bahia, the moft vehement and moft ex-

traordinary discourse that hath perhaps ever been heard in a Christian pulpit. The singularity of this sermon will probably plead my excuse for the long extract I am going to give of it.

upon the success of a heretic nation.

Vieira took for his text that part of the Psalms, where the prophet, addressing himself to God, exclaims, "Awake, O Lord; wherefore hast thou slept? Wherefore hast thou turned thy countenance from us? Wherefore hast thou forgotten our misery and our tribulation? Awake, and come to our succour. Think on the glory of thy name, and save us."

"It is in these words, full of pious firmness and of religious boldness; it is thus," saith the orator, "that the king prophet, protesting rather than praying, addresseth himself to God. The times and circumstances are the same; and I may also venture to say, Awake, wherefore hast thou slept?"

Vieira repeated his text; and, after having shown the conformity between the misfortunes of the Israelites and the Portuguese, he adds, "It is not, therefore, to the people that my discourse this day shall be addressed. My voice and my words shall be employed upon a higher theme. I aspire, at this instant, to penetrate even into the breast of the Divinity. This is the last day of the fortnight which is destined, in all the churches of the mother-country, to prayer before the sacred altars; and, since this day is the last, it is proper to have recourse to the sole and last remedy. The preachers of the gospel have in vain endeavoured to lead you to repentance. Since ye have been deaf, since they have not converted you, it is thou, O Lord, whom I will convert; and although we are the sinners, it is thou who shalt repent.

"When the children of Israel had committed the crime in the desert, in worshipping the golden calf, thou didst reveal their fault to Moses, and thou didst add, in thy wrath, that thou wouldst annihilate those ungrateful people. Moses said unto thee, Why doth thy wrath wax hot against thy people? Before thou

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"punisheſt, conſider what is proper for thee to do. "Shall the Egyptians accuſe thee of having taken "them out of ſlavery for miſchief, and to ſlay them "in the mountains? Reflect on the glory of thy name.

"Such was the reaſoning made uſe of by Moſes, "and ſuch ſhall be mine. Thou didſt repent thee of "the deſign which thou hadſt formed. Thou art ſtill "the ſame; and my arguments are ſtronger than thoſe "of the Jewiſh legiſlator. They will have the ſame "effect upon thee; and, if thou haſt taken the reſo-"lution to deſtroy us, thou wilt repent of it. Thou "canſt not be ignorant that the heretic, inflated with "the ſucceſs which thou haſt given him, hath already "ſaid, that it is to the falſity of our worſhip he owes "thy protection and his victories. And what doſt "thou think the Gentiles that ſurround us, the Tala-"pouin, who is yet unacquainted with thee, the in-"conſtant Indian, and the ignorant and ſtupid Egyp-"tian, but juſt waſhed with the waters of baptiſm, will "think of this? Are the people capable of ſearching "into, and of adoring the depth of thy judgments? "Ariſe, therefore, and, if thou haſt any care of thy "glory, ſuffer not that arguments againſt our faith "ſhould be drawn from our defeats. Awake, and let "the ſtorms which have diſperſed our fleets diſperſe "thoſe of our common enemy. Let the peſtilence, "and the diſeaſes which have waſted our armies, bring "deſtruction among theirs; and, ſince the councils of "men are fruſtrated at thy pleaſure, let darkneſs and "confuſion prevail in theirs.

"Joſhua was more holy and more patient than we "are; yet his language was not different from mine, "and the circumſtance was much leſs important. He "croſſed the Jordan, he attacked the city of Ai, and "his troops were diſperſed. His loſs was moderate, "and yet behold him rending his clothes, falling up-"on the earth, giving way to the moſt bitter com-"plaints, and exclaiming, *Wherefore haſt thou brought "us over Jordan to deliver us into the hands of the Am-"monites?* And I, when the intereſt of an immenſe

" people, and in a vaſt extent of country, are concern-" ed, ſhall I not exclaim, Haſt thou given us theſe re-" gions merely to deprive us of them again? If thou " didſt deſign them for the Dutch, why didſt thou " not invite them while they were yet uncultivated? " Has the heretic rendered thee ſuch great ſervices, " and are we ſo vile in thine eyes, that thou ſhouldſt " have drawn us from our country merely to clear " their lands for them, to build their cities, and to en-" rich them with our labours? Is this the indemnity " which thou haſt fixed upon in thine heart, for ſo " many men ſlaughtered upon the earth, or loſt in the " waters? Yet, if it be thy will, it muſt be ſo. But I " perceive that thoſe whom thou rejecteſt, and whom " thou doſt oppreſs to-day, thou wilt ſearch for in vain " to-morrow.

" Job, when cruſhed with misfortunes, expoſtulated " with thee. Thou doſt not expect that we ſhould be " more inſenſible than he was. He ſaid to thee, *Since* " *thou haſt reſolved upon my deſtruction, complete thy* " *work; kill me, and annihilate me: but thou ſhalt ſeek* " *me in the morning, and I ſhall not be. Thou ſhalt find* " *Sabeans, Chaldeans, and blaſphemers of thy name; but* " *Job, thy faithful ſervant, who worſhippeth thee, will no* " *more be found.*

" I will ſay to thee, O Lord, with Job, burn, de-" ſtroy, and conſume us all: but one day, but in the " morning, thou ſhalt ſeek for Portugueſe, and thou " ſhalt ſeek in vain. Will Holland furniſh thee, at " thy call, with apoſtolic conquerors, who, at the riſk " of their lives, will convey over the face of the whole " globe the ſtandard of the croſs? Will Holland eſta-" bliſh a ſeminary of apoſtolic preachers, who will be " ready, for the intereſt of thy faith, to ſpill their blood " in barbarous regions? Will Holland raiſe temples " that are agreeable to thee? Will it conſtruct altars " upon which thou wilt deſcend? Will it conſecrate " true miniſters to thee? Will it offer up to thee the " great ſacrifice? Will it worſhip thee in a manner " worthy of thee? Yes—the worſhip thou wilt receive

BOOK IX. "from her will be the same as that which she practiseth daily at Amsterdam, at Middlebourg, at Flessing, and in the other districts of those damp and cold infernal regions.

"I know well, O Lord, that the propagation of thy faith, and the interests of thy glory, do not depend upon us; and that if there were no men, thy power animating the stones might raise up children to Abraham. But I also know, that, since the time of Adam, thou hast not created any mortals of a new species; that thou dost make use of those that exist; and that thou dost admit in thy designs those that are less good, only in default of the better. Witness the parable of the feast, *Bring in the blind and the lame.* Such is the proceeding of Providence; and wilt thou reverse it at present? We have been invited, and we have not refused to come to the feast, and yet thou dost prefer to us the blind and the lame, Lutherans and Calvinists, blind in the faith, and lame in their works!

"If we be so unfortunate, as that the Dutch should make themselves masters of Brazil, the circumstance that I will represent to thee, with all humility, but with great earnestness, is, that thou wouldst consider well before the execution of thy decree. Weigh with attention what may be the consequence of it; and reflect while there is still time for it. If thou art to repent, it is better that thou shouldst do it at present, than when the evil shall be without remedy. Thou perceivest the scope of my argument, and the reasons, deduced from thine own conduct, for the remonstrance I make to thee. Before the time of the deluge, thou wert also much incensed against mankind. In vain did Noah address his prayers to thee during a century. Thou didst persist in thine anger; and the cataracts of the heavens were at length burst, and the waters rose above the summits of the mountains. The whole earth was overflown, and thy justice was satisfied. But three days after this, when the bodies floated upon the waters, when

" thine eyes beheld the multitude of livid carcafes, " when the furface of the fea prefented to thee the " moft melancholy and the moft hideous fight that " had ever afflicted the angelic choir, what was the " confequence? affected with the fight, as if thou " hadft not forefeen it, thy bowels were moved with " anguifh. Thou didft repent of having made the " world. Thou didft regret the paft, and didft take " refolutions for the future. Since fuch is thy difpo- " fition, why doft thou not fpare thyfelf, in fparing " us? Why doft thou perfift in thy prefent wrath, " if it be afterwards to excite thy murmurs, and if " thy mercy is to be affected by the decrees of thy " juftice? Reflect upon it before thou doft begin, " and confider the confequences of the new deluge " thou haft defigned to produce. Let me be allowed " to reprefent them to thee.

" Let us fuppofe Bahia, and the reft of Brazil, are " become the prey of the Dutch. Behold them en- " tering into the city with the fury of conquerors, and " with the rage of heretics. Behold that neither age " nor fex are fpared. Behold the blood ftreaming on " all fides. Behold the guilty, the innocent, the wo- " men and the children, all put to the fword, and " maffacred one upon another. Behold the tears of " the virgins, who weep for the injury they have fuf- " fered. Behold the old men dragged by their hair. " Liften to the mixed cries of the monks and of the " priefts, who embrace thine altars, and who lift up " their hands unto thee. Even thou thyfelf, O Lord! " wilt not efcape their violence. Yes—thou wilt par- " take of it. The heretics will force the gates of thy " temples. The hoft, which is thine own proper bo- " dy, will be trampled under foot. The vafes that " have been filled with thy blood, will ferve for riot- " ing and drunkennefs. Thine altars will be thrown " down. Thy images will be torn to pieces. Sacri- " legious hands will be laid upon thy mother.

" That thefe infults fhould be offered to thee, and " that thou fhouldft fuffer them, is not a matter of

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" aftonifhment to me, fince thou haft formerly fuffered others ftill more cruel: but thy mother! O! " where is filial piety? Didft thou not deprive Hofea " of life, for having touched the ark? Didft thou not " wither the arm that Jeroboam had raifed againft a " prophet; and yet the heretics have thoufands of " arms for more atrocious deeds? Thou didft de-" throne, and didft caufe Balfhazzar to die, for having " drunk out of facred veffels, although thy blood had " not been confecrated in them; and yet thou doft " fpare the heretic, and there are not two fingers and " a thumb to trace upon the wall the fentence of their " death.

" In a word, O Lord, when thy temples are fpoiled, thine altars demolifhed, thy religion extinct in " Brazil, and thy worfhip annihilated, when the grafs " fhall grow upon the avenues to thy churches, Chrift-" mas-day fhall come round, and no one fhall recol-" lect the day of thy birth. Lent and the holy week " fhall come round, and yet the myfteries of thy paf-" fion fhall not be celebrated. The ftones of our " ftreets fhall cry out, as the ftones did in the folitary " ftreets of Jerufalem. There will be no more priefts, " no more facrifices, no more facraments. Herefy " will arife in the pulpit of truth; and the children of " the Portuguefe will be tainted with falfe doctrines. " The children of my audience will be afked, *Little* " *boys, what is your religion?* and they will anfwer, *We* " *are Calvinifts. And you, little girls, what is yours?* " and they will anfwer, *We are Lutherans.* Then thou " wilt be moved with compaffion, and repent: but if " thy repentance be to be awakened, why doft thou " not prevent it?

" But tell me, what glory canft thou find in de-" ftroying a nation, and in caufing it to be fupplanted " by another? This is a power thou didft formerly " intruft to a mean inhabitant of Anatho. In punifh-" ing us, thou doft triumph over the weak; in par-" doning us, thou doft triumph over thyfelf. Be mer-" ciful for thine own glory, and for the honour of thy

"name. Let not thy wrath be prolonged for ever, "nor even for one day. Thou wilt not ſuffer that "the ſun ſhould ſet upon our anger; and yet how "often hath it not riſen, how often hath it not ſet up-"on thine? Doſt thou require from us a moderation "thou doſt not poſſeſs? Doſt thou give us the precept "without the example?

"Forgive us, O Lord! and put an end to our miſ-"fortunes. Holy Virgin, intercede for us; entreat "thy Son; lay thy commands upon him. If he be "angered with our offences, tell him that he muſt for-"give them, as it is enjoined us by his law to forgive "thoſe who have offended us."

We know not whether the Lord liſtened to this apoſtrophe of the orator Vieira; but a little while after the conqueſt, the Dutch were interrupted by a revolution which all nations wiſhed for, and which none had foreſeen.

The Portugueſe had never enjoyed happy times ſince they had ſubmitted to the Spaniſh yoke in 1581. Philip II. an avaricious, cruel, deſpotic, deſigning, and falſe prince, had endeavoured to vilify them, but concealed his intentions under honourable pretences. His ſon, who too cloſely followed his maxims, and thought it better to reign over a ruined nation than to be indebted to the good will of the people for their ſubmiſſion, had ſuffered them to be deprived of a multitude of conqueſts, which had proved a ſource of riches, power, and glory to them, and which they had acquired by much effuſion of blood. The ſucceſſor of that weak prince, who had ſtill leſs underſtanding than his father, openly and contemptuouſly attacked their adminiſtration, their privileges, their manners, and all that they were moſt attached to. At the inſtigation of Olivarez, he wanted to provoke them to revolt, that he might acquire the right of plundering them.

Theſe repeated outrages united all the Portugueſe, whom Spain had been labouring to divide. A conſpiracy, that had been forming for three years, with incredible ſecrecy, broke out on the third of Decem-

BOOK IX. ber 1640. Philip IV. was ignominiously banished, and the duke of Braganza was placed on the throne of his ancestors. The example of the capital was followed by the whole kingdom, and by all that remained of the settlements formed in happier times in Asia, Africa, and America. No blood was shed on this great revolution, except that of Michael Vasconcellos, the base and vile instrument of tyranny.

The new king united his interests and his resentments with those of the English, the French, and all the enemies of Spain. On the 23d of June 1641, he in particular concluded an offensive and defensive alliance with the United Provinces for Europe, and a ten years truce for the East and West Indies. Nassau was immediately recalled with most of the troops, and the government of the Dutch possessions in Brazil was given to Hamel, a merchant of Amsterdam; to Bassis, a goldsmith of Haarlem; and to Bullestraat, a carpenter of Middleburgh. The decision of all affairs was to be referred to this council; and these were now supposed to be confined to the carrying on of a great and advantageous trade.

A considerable obstacle frustrated their hopes. The lands belonged to the Portuguese, who had remained under the government of the republic. Some of them had never acquired sufficient means to form rich plantations; and others had lost their fortunes by the calamities which are inseparable from war. As soon as this inability was known in Europe, the monied men in the United Provinces hastened to send the funds necessary for the carrying on of all the labours which it was possible to undertake. The face of affairs was soon changed in those regions, every thing seemed animated with new life; but edifices too magnificent were erected, an infinite number of slaves perished by a contagious disorder; and excessive luxury was generally prevailing. These faults and misfortunes disabled the debtors from fulfilling their engagements. In order not to lose all their credit, they were imprudent enough to borrow money at three and four *per*

cent. per month. This abſurd conduct ſoon rendered them inſolvent; and the priſons were filled with unfortunate or guilty perſons. The Company were obliged to take the debts upon themſelves, in order to preſerve this beautiful ſettlement from total ruin; but they required that the cultivators ſhould give up the entire price of their productions, till all the debts ſhould be liquidated.

Before this arrangement, the agents for the monopoly had ſuffered the fortifications to fall into ruin; they had ſold the arms and the ammunition; they had permitted every ſoldier who was deſirous of it, to return to the mother-country. This conduct had annihilated the public ſtrength, and had induced the Portugueſe to hope that they might throw off a foreign yoke. The ſtipulation, which deprived them of all the comforts of life to which they were accuſtomed, determined them to haſten the revolution.

The boldeſt of them united, in 1645, to take their revenge; their deſign was, to maſſacre all the Dutch who had any ſhare in the government, at an entertainment in the midſt of the capital of Fernambucca, and then to attack the people, who, ſuſpecting no danger, would be unprepared. The plot was diſcovered; but the conſpirators had time to get out of town, and retire to a place of ſafety.

Their chief was a Portugueſe of obſcure birth, named Juan Fernandez de Viera. From a common ſervant he had riſen to be an agent, and afterwards a merchant. His abilities had enabled him to acquire a large fortune; his probity had gained him univerſal confidence; and his generoſity had made him an infinite number of friends, who were inviolably attached to his intereſt. He was not diſcouraged by the diſappointment he had juſt met with; but he ventured, without the conſent or ſupport of government, to commence hoſtilities.

His name, his virtues, and his projects, aſſembled the Brazilians, the Portugueſe ſoldiers, and even the coloniſts, about him. He inſpired them with his con-

BOOK IX. fidence, his activity, and his courage. They attended him in battle, crowded about his perfon, and were determined to conquer or to die with him. He triumphed, but did not allow himfelf to flumber over his victories, or give the enemy time to recover. Some checks he met with in the courfe of his fucceffes only ferved to difplay the firmnefs of his foul, the extent of his genius, and the elevation of his mind. He affumed a threatening afpect even after a misfortune, and appeared ftill more formidable by his perfeverance than by his intrepidity. He fpread fuch terror among his enemies, that they dared no longer keep the field. At this period of his glory, Viera received orders not to proceed.

Since the truce, the Dutch had feized upon fome places in Africa and Afia, which they obftinately refufed to reftore. The court of Lifbon, intent upon matters of greater importance, had not been able to do themfelves juftice; but their prefent inability had not leffened their refentment. In this difpofition, they had rejoiced to fee the republic attacked in Brazil; and had even clandeftinely encouraged thofe who had begun the hoftilities. As they conftantly difavowed thefe proceedings, and declared, both in Europe and America, that they would one day punifh the authors of the difturbances, the Company imagined they would foon fubfide; but their avarice, which had been too long amufed with falfe and frivolous proteftations, was at length roufed. John IV. being informed that confiderable armaments were preparing in Holland, and fearing to be drawn into a war which he wifhed to avoid, exerted himfelf in earneft to put an end to the hoftilities in the Brazils.

Viera, who had no refource for the completion of his defigns, but in his fortune, his intereft, and his abilities, did not even deliberate whether he fhould obey. "If the king," faid he, "were but informed "of our zeal and our fuccefs, and acquainted with "his own intereft, far from difarming us, he would "encourage us to purfue our undertaking, and would

"support us with all his power." Then, left the ardour of his companions should abate, he determined to haften his operations; and they continued to be crowned with fuch fuccefs, that, with the affiftance of Baretto, Vidal, and fome other Portuguefe, who were able and willing to ferve their country, he completed the ruin of the Dutch. The few of thefe republicans who efcaped the fword and famine evacuated Brazil, in confequence of a capitulation figned the 28th of January 1654.

What changes are produced in the opinions of men! Thefe events feem no more to us, and are, in fact, no more than the confequences of fome political, moral, or natural caufes; and the orator Vieira appears no more to us than an elegant enthufiaft. But let us carry our imaginations back to the times of the Hebrews, when they had feminaries of infpired men; to thofe of the Greeks, when people reforted to Delphos from all parts of the world; to thofe of the Romans, who never dared to undertake any confiderable enterprife, without having previoufly confulted the entrails of the victims, and the facred fowls; and to the times of our anceftors, at the period of the crufades: let us imagine a prophet, a witch, an augur, or a St. Bernard, in the room of Vieira, and the revolution in the Brazils will inftantly appear miraculous; it will appear as if God, moved by the facred boldnefs of an extraordinary perfon, had fent an avenger to the oppreffed nation.

The peace, concluded three months after between England and the United Provinces, feemed to put the latter in a condition to recover a valuable poffeffion, which they had loft by an ill-judged parfimony, and by an unfortunate concurrence of circumftances; but both the republic and the Company fruftrated the general expectation; and the treaty, which put an end to the divifions between the two powers in 1661, fecured to Portugal the fole poffeffion of all the Brazils, in confideration of eight millions of livres [333,333l.

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6s. 8d.], which that crown engaged to pay to the United Provinces either in money or goods.

Thus did the Dutch part with a conqueſt that might have become the richeſt of all the European colonies, and would have given the republic a degree of importance it could never acquire from its own territory. But, in order to keep it, the government ought to have undertaken the adminiſtration and defence of it; and, to make it proſper, it ſhould have enjoyed full liberty. With theſe precautions, Brazil would have been preſerved, and would have enriched the nation, inſtead of ruining the Company. Unfortunately, it was not yet known, that the only way to make lands uſeful in America was to clear them, and that this could not be done with ſucceſs, unleſs a free trade were opened to all the inhabitants under the protection of government.

Situation of the Portugueſe in the Brazils, after they had expelled the Dutch.

No ſooner were the Portugueſe entirely freed, by a firm treaty, from an enemy by whom they had been ſo often conquered, and ſo often humbled, than they applied themſelves to give ſome ſtability to their poſſeſſion, and to increaſe its riches. Unfortunately, ſome of the ſteps taken in order to promote and enſure proſperity, bore the marks of ignorance and prejudice; but they were ſtill much ſuperior to any thing that had been practiſed before this memorable era.

While the court of Liſbon was engaged in regulating the interior concerns of the colony, ſome of the moſt active ſubjects of Portugal were deviſing the means of extending it. They advanced to the ſouth towards the river of Plata, and to the north as far as that of the Amazons. The Spaniards ſeemed to be in poſſeſſion of both theſe rivers. The Portugueſe were determined to drive them away, or to ſhare the navigation with them.

Settlement of the Portugueſe on the river of the Amazons.

The river of the Amazons, ſo famous for the length of its courſe; that great vaſſal of the ſea, to which it brings the tribute it hath received from ſo many of its own vaſſals; ſeems to be produced by innumerable

torrents that rush down from the east side of the Andes, and unite in a spacious plain, to form that immense river. Yet the common opinion is, that it comes from the lake Lauricocha, as from a reservoir of the Cordeleirias situated in the district of Guanuco, thirty leagues distant from Lima, about the 11th degree of south latitude. In its progress of a thousand or eleven hundred leagues, it receives the waters of a prodigious number of rivers, some of which come from far, and are very broad and deep. It is interspersed with an infinite number of islands, that are too often overflowed to admit of culture. It falls into the ocean under the line, and is there fifty leagues broad.

The mouth of this river was first discovered in 1500 by Vincent Pinçon, one of the companions of Columbus; and its source is thought to have been found out by Gonzalo Pizarro in 1538. His lieutenant Orellana embarked on this river, and sailed from one end to the other of it. He was obliged to fight his way along, and to engage with many nations, who obstructed his navigation with their canoes, and poured showers of arrows upon him from the shore. It was certainly at this time that the sight of savages without beards, as are all the American nations, struck the lively imaginations of the Spaniards, and suggested the idea of an army of female warriors: this must have induced the commanding officer to change the name of that river, which was then called the Maragnon, and to call it the river of the Amazons; which name it retains to this day.

It might appear a matter of astonishment, that the discovery of America had not suggested any miraculous stories to the imagination of the Spaniards, of a people who, indeed, never possessed the delicacy of taste, the sensibility, nor the graces that were allotted to the Greeks; but whom nature had indemnified for the want of these qualities, by giving them a haughtiness of character, an elevation of soul, and an imagination as fertile, and more ardent, than she had bestowed on any other nation.

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The Greeks never travelled, either in or beyond the precincts of their narrow territory, without meeting with something marvellous. On the summit of the Pindus they saw Apollo, surrounded with the nine Muses. They heard the caverns of Lemnos resound with the hammers of the Cyclops. They fastened Prometheus to the top of the Caucasus. They crushed the giants under a weight of mountains. If Ætna roared, and vomited torrents of flame, this was ascribed to the labours of Typhöeus. The plains and forests of the Greeks were peopled with satyrs and fauns, at whose dances there was not one of their poets who had not assisted; while an entirely new system of nature did not excite any new idea in the minds of the Spaniards. They were neither affected with the variety of the plants and animals, nor with the picturesque manners of a race of men till that time unknown. What, then, could engage their attention? Slaughter, carnage, and plunder. The search for gold, which kept them bent towards the foot of the mountains, reduced them to the posture and to the stupidity of brutes.

As early as the times of Hercules and Theseus, the Greeks had imagined the existence of a nation of Amazons. With this fable they embellished the history of all their heroes, not excepting that of Alexander; and the Spaniards, infatuated with this dream of antiquity, transferred it to the New World. We can scarce find a more probable origin of the opinion they established both in Europe and America, of a republic of female warriors actually existing, who did not live in society with men, and only admitted them once a-year, for the purposes of procreation. To give the more credit to this romantic story, it was reported, not without reason, that the women in America were all so unhappy, and were treated with such contempt and inhumanity, that many of them had agreed to shake off the yoke of their tyrants. It was further said, that, being accustomed to follow the men into the forests, and to carry their provisions and baggage when they

went out to fight or to hunt, they muſt neceſſarily have been inured to hardſhips, and rendered capable of forming ſo bold a reſolution.

But it is abſurd to imagine, that women, who had ſo fixed an averſion for men, would ever conſent to become mothers; nor is it likely that the men would go in queſt of their wives, when they had made their lives inſupportable at home, and always turned them away as ſoon as they had no more occaſion for them. Much leſs can it be ſuppoſed, that the ſofter and more compaſſionate ſex would expoſe or ſtrangle their own children, becauſe they were boys; and coolly and deliberately agree to commit ſuch enormities as none would be guilty of, but a few individuals urged by rage and deſpair. Neither could an ariſtocratical or democratical republic, which it requires abilities to govern, be ruled by a ſenate of women; though a monarchical or deſpotic ſtate, in which it is only neceſſary to command, hath been, and may ſtill be, ſwayed by a female.

Let us conſider the weakneſs of organization in women; their almoſt conſtant valetudinarian ſtate; their natural puſillanimity; the ſeverity of the labours required in a ſocial ſtate, in times of peace or war; their abhorrence of blood; their fear of dangers; and let us then endeavour to reconcile all theſe circumſtances with the poſſibility of a female republic.

If ſome ſtrange prejudices have been able to form ſocieties of both ſexes amongſt us, who live ſeparate, notwithſtanding that natural attraction which was intended to unite them, it is not conſiſtent with the nature of things, that chance ſhould have produced a nation of men without women, and ſtill leſs a nation of women without men. Certain it is, that, ſince this political conſtitution hath been talked of, infinite pains have been taken to find it out, but no traces of it could ever be diſcovered. This ſingular prodigy, therefore, will be like many others, which are always ſuppoſed to exiſt, though we know not where.

Whatever may be the caſe with regard to this cir-

BOOK IX. cumſtance of the Amazons, the voyage of Orellana excited more curioſity than it procured information. An opportunity of ſatisfying it did not occur for ſome time, on account of the civil wars that diſturbed Peru; but, when tranquillity was reſtored, Pedro d'Orſua, a gentleman of Navarre, diſtinguiſhed by his wiſdom and courage, offered the viceroy, in 1560, to reſume that navigation. He ſet out from Cuſco with ſeven hundred men. Theſe ſanguinary people, inveterate enemies to all worthy perſons, maſſacred their chief, who was a man of good morals, and attached to order and regularity. They ſet up at their head, with the title of king, a native of Biſcay, of a ferocious diſpoſition, whoſe name was Lopez d'Aguirre, and who promiſed them all the treaſures of the New World.

Intoxicated with ſuch flattering hopes, theſe barbarians ſailed down the river Amazon into the ocean, and, landing at Trinidad, murdered the governor, and plundered the iſland. The coaſts of Cumana, Caraccas, and St. Martha, were ſtill more ſeverely treated, becauſe they were richer. They then penetrated into New Granada, and were advancing to Quito, and into the interior part of Peru, where every thing was to be deſtroyed by fire and ſword. A body of troops, haſtily aſſembled, attacked theſe deſperate men, beat and diſperſed them. D'Aguirre, ſeeing no way to eſcape, marked his deſpair by an atrocious act. "My "child," ſaid he, to his only daughter, who attended him in his expeditions, "I thought to have placed thee "upon a throne, but the event hath not anſwered my "expectation. My honour and thine own will not "permit thee to live, and to be a ſlave to our ene-"mies; die, therefore, by a father's hand." Saying this, he inſtantly ſhot her through the body, and then put an end to her life, by plunging a dagger into her heart. After this unnatural act, his ſtrength failed, and he was taken priſoner, drawn and quartered.

After theſe unfortunate events, the river of the Amazons was entirely neglected, and was totally forgotten for half a century. Some attempts were after-

wards made to refume the difcovery of it, but they were ill concerted and no better executed. The honour of conquering thefe difficulties, and of acquiring a ufeful knowledge of that great river, was referved to the Portuguefe.

That nation, which ftill retained fome remains of her former vigour, had, fome years before, built a town at the entrance of the river, which was called Belem. Pedro Texeira failed from this place in 1638, and with a great number of canoes, full of Indians and Portuguefe, went up the river of the Amazons, as far as the mouth of the Napo, and then up the Napo, which brought him almoft to Quito, where he arrived by land. Notwithftanding the enmity fubfifting between the Spaniards and Portuguefe, though fubjects of the fame mafter, Texeira was received with that regard, efteem, and confidence, which were due to a man who was doing a fignal fervice. He returned in company with d'Acugna and d'Artieda, two learned Jefuits, who were commiffioned to verify his obfervations, and to make others. An accurate account of thefe two fuccefsful voyages was fent to the court of Madrid, where it gave rife to a very extraordinary project.

The communication between the Spanifh colonies had long been found very difficult. Some pirates, who were at enmity with them, infefted the north and fouth feas, and intercepted their navigation. Even thofe of their fhips which had got to the Havannah, and joined others, were not perfectly fafe. The galleons were frequently attacked and taken by whole fquadrons, and always purfued by privateers, who feldom failed to carry off the ftraggling veffels that were parted from the convoy, either by ftormy weather, or by failing more flowly than the reft. The Amazon river feemed as if it would obviate all thefe difficulties. It was thought poffible, and even an eafy matter, to convey thither the treafures of New Granada, Popayan, Quito, Peru, and Chili itfelf, by navigable rivers, or at a fmall expence by land. It was thought, that, coming down the river, they would find the galleons

ready in the harbour of Para to receive them. The fleet from Brazil would then have joined, and consequently strengthened the fleet from Spain. They would then have failed with great fecurity in latitudes little known and little frequented, and would have arrived in Europe at leaft with a formidable appearance; or might really have been in a condition to furmount any obftacles they might have met with. The revolution which placed the duke of Braganza on the throne, put an end to thefe important projects. Each of the two nations was then only intent upon fecuring to itfelf that part of the river which beft fuited its own fituation.

The Spanifh Jefuits undertook to fet up a miffion in the country lying between the banks of the Amazon and of the Napo, as far as to the conflux of both thefe rivers. Every miffionary, attended only by one man, took with him hatchets, knives, needles, and all kinds of iron tools, and penetrated into the thickeft of the forefts. There they fpent whole months in climbing up the trees, to fee if they could difcover fome hut, perceive any fmoke, or hear the found of any drum or fife. When they were affured that fome favages were in the neighbourhood, they advanced towards them. Moft of them fled, efpecially if they were at war. Thofe whom the miffionaries could come within reach of were eafily bribed by fuch prefents as their ignorance made them fet a value upon. This was all the eloquence they had in their power, or all they had any occafion to employ.

When they had affembled a few families, they led them to the place they had fixed upon to form a village. The favages were not eafily prevailed upon to take up their abode there. As they were ufed to rove about, they found it an unfupportable hardfhip to remain always in the fame place. The ftate of independence in which they had lived, they thought preferable to the focial life that was recommended to them: and their unconquerable averfion for labour, induced them continually to return to the forefts

where they had paſſed their lives in idleneſs. Even thoſe who were reſtrained by the authority or the paternal kindneſs of their legiſlator, ſeldom failed to diſperſe in his abſence, though ever ſo ſhort. But his death at laſt occaſioned a total ſubverſion of the ſettlement.

It is impoſſible that any reader who reflects ſhould not be deſirous of knowing what ſtrange infatuation can induce an individual, who enjoys all the conveniences of life in his own country, to undertake the laborious and unfortunate function of a miſſionary; to quit his fellow-citizens, his friends, and his relations; to croſs the ſea, in order to bury himſelf in the midſt of foreſts; to expoſe himſelf to all the horrors of the moſt extreme miſery; to run the riſk, at every ſtep, either of being devoured by wild beaſts, or maſſacred by ſavages; to ſettle in the midſt of them; to conform himſelf to their manners; to ſhare their indigence and their fatigues; to be expoſed to their paſſions, or caprices, for at leaſt as long a time as is required to learn their language, and to make himſelf underſtood by them.

If this conduct be aſcribed to the enthuſiaſm of religion, what more powerful motive can be imagined? If to reſpect for the vows of obedience taken to ſuperiors, who have a right to order them to go any where, and who cannot be aſked the reaſon for thoſe orders, without committing the crime of perjury and apoſtacy, what good, or what evil, is it not in the power of hypocritical or ambitious maſters to do, who command ſo abſolutely, and who are ſo ſervilely obeyed? If it be the effect of a deep ſenſe of compaſſion for a part of the human ſpecies, whom it is intended to reſcue from a ſtate of ignorance, ſtupidity, and miſery, what virtue can be more heroic? With reſpect to the conſtancy with which theſe extraordinary men perſevere in ſo diſguſtful an undertaking; I ſhould have imagined, that by living ſo long among the ſavages, they would have become ſavages themſelves: but I ſhould have been deceived in this conjecture. It is, on the contra-

BOOK IX ty, one of the most laudable of human vanities that supports them in their career.

"My friend," said once to me an old missionary, who had lived thirty years in the midst of the forests, and who, since he had returned into his own country, had fallen into a profound melancholy, and was for ever regretting his beloved savages; "My friend (said "he), you know not what it is to be the king, almost "even the God, of a number of men, who owe to you "the small portion of happiness they enjoy; and who "are ever assiduous in assuring you of their gratitude. "After they have been ranging through immense fo-"rests, they return, overcome with fatigue and inani-"tion; if they have only killed one piece of game, "for whom do you suppose it to be intended? It is "for the FATHER; for it is thus they call us: and in-"deed they are really our children. Their dissensions "are suspended at our appearance. A sovereign does "not rest in greater safety in the midst of his guards, "than we do surrounded by our savages. It is among "them that I will go and end my days."

With this persevering spirit, the Jesuits had conquered, upon the Amazon, obstacles apparently invincible. Their mission, which began in 1637, consisted, in 1766, of ten thousand inhabitants, who were distributed in thirty-six villages, twelve of which were situated along the Napo, and twenty-four on the banks of the Amazon. They were from two to ten, fifteen, or sometimes twenty days journey distant from one another. In most of the villages lived people belonging to several nations, who were all obstinately attached to their customs and to their manners, and could never be brought to consider themselves as members of the same community. The efforts that were made to extend this settlement were not, nor could they be successful.

The women of this part of America are not fruitful, and their barrenness increases when they remove from one place to another. The men are of a feeble habit, and the custom they have of bathing constantly, by no means contributes to increase their strength. The cli-

mate is not healthy, and contagious diftempers are frequent. It hath never been poffible, and probably never will be, to infpire the favages with an inclination for agriculture. Their chief delight is in fifhing and hunting, amufements which are by no means favourable to the increafe of population. In a country which is almoft all under water, there are few convenient fituations to form a fettlement upon. Moft of them are at fo great a diftance from each other, that they cannot poffibly furnifh any mutual affiftance. The nations which one might endeavour to incorporate are alfo too far feparated; moft of them are intrenched in inacceffible places, and are fo inconfiderable, that they often confift only of five or fix families.

Of all the Indians the Jefuits had collected, and whom they governed, none were fo lifelefs or fo incapable of being animated as thefe. Every miffionary was obliged to put himfelf at their head, in order to make them pick up the cocoa, vanilla, and farfaparilla, that nature plentifully offers them, and which are fent every year to Quito, three hundred leagues off, that they may be bartered for articles of primary neceffity. Their whole property confifts of a hut, open on all fides, made of a few ofiers, and covered on the top with palm-leaves, a few implements of hufbandry, a lance, bows and arrows for hunting, fifhing-tackle, a tent, a hammock, and a canoe. It hath not been poffible to infpire them with defires beyond thefe. They are fo well fatisfied with what they poffefs, that they wifh for nothing more; they live unconcerned, and die without fear. They may be faid to be happy, if happinefs confift more in an exemption from the uneafy fenfation that attends want, than in the multiplicity of enjoyments that our wants require.

This infant ftate, the offspring of religion alone, hath been hitherto of no fervice to Spain, and it can hardly be expected it ever fhould. However, the government of Maynas, with its capital Borja, have been formed there. The deftroyers of America have never thought of eftablifhing any fettlement in a country where there

BOOK IX. are no mines, nor any of thoſe rich commodities which ſo powerfully allured their covetouſneſs; but this country hath ſometimes attracted the neighbouring ſavages.

While ſome miſſionaries were eſtabliſhing the authority of the court of Madrid on the banks of the Amazon, others were doing the ſame ſervice to the court of Liſbon. Six or ſeven days journey below the ſettlements of St. Ignacio de Pevas, the laſt under the juriſdiction of Spain, is St. Paul, the firſt of the numerous villages formed by the Portugueſe, at a very great diſtance from each other, on the banks of the largeſt river, and on thoſe of the ſmall ones that fall into it.

If the Maynas were at liberty to form connections with theſe neighbours, they might acquire by this intercourſe ſome conveniencies that they cannot be ſupplied with from Quito, being ſeparated from that place by the Cordeleras, which cut off the communication more effectually than immenſe ſeas would do. This indulgence of government might perhaps be productive of conſiderable advantages; and, poſſibly, both Spain and Portugal, though rival powers, might be ſenſible that it would be for their mutual intereſt to extend it. It is well known that the province of Quito is poor, for want of an opportunity of diſpoſing of the overplus of thoſe very commodities that are not to be had at Para. The two provinces mutually aſſiſting each other by means of the Napo and of the Amazon, would riſe to a degree of proſperity they could never attain without this intercourſe. The mother-countries would in time reap great advantages from it, and it could never be prejudicial to them, becauſe Quito could never purchaſe what is ſent from Europe to America, and Para conſumes nothing but what Liſbon obtains from foreign countries. But national antipathies, and the jealouſies of crowned heads, are attended with the ſame effects as the paſſions and prejudices of men in private life. One unfortunate incident is ſufficient to divide families and nations for ever, whoſe greateſt intereſt it is to love and aſſiſt one another, and to promote the general good. The ſpirit of hatred and revenge will

rather induce men to submit to suffer than not be gratified. Those passions are constantly kept up by the mutual injuries and the effusion of blood they occasion. How different is man in the state of nature from man corrupted by society! The latter amply deserves all the misfortunes he brings upon himself.

It is a circumstance we have less reason than ever to expect, that any kind of confidence can be established in these countries, between the two European nations that are in possession of them. It hath been for a long time suspected, that the river Amazon and the Oroonoko communicated with each other by means of the Black River, where the court of Lisbon hath several settlements. This circumstance, which had been so long a matter of contest, was demonstrated in 1744, by some Portuguese boats, which having set out from one of these rivers, sailed into the other. This produced a new source of jealousy, to which the two ministers ought to have put a stop, when their attention was engaged in settling the differences which had too often stained the river Plata with blood.

The Portuguese wish to form settlements on the river Plata. Their disputes with Spain. Accommodations between the two powers.

The Portuguese, who had appeared upon this great river soon after the Spaniards, were not long before they forgot it. They did not come there again till the year 1553, when they got as far as Buenos-Ayres, and took possession of the northern coast of the provinces. This act had not been attended with any consequences, when the court of Lisbon ordered, in 1680, that the colony of St. Sacrament should be established precisely at the extremity of the territory which they thought belonged to them. This claim appeared to the Spaniards to be ill-founded; and they destroyed these rising walls without much difficulty.

Violent contests immediately arose between the two powers. Spain [illegible]d that the new colony was placed in the space allotted to her, by the boundary marked by the popes. The Portuguese did not deny this astronomical truth, but they maintained, that this agreement was annulled by later arrangements, and in a more particular manner by the treaty of 1668, which

put a ſtop to hoſtilities, and ſettled the fate of the two nations. It was concluded in 1681, after a multitude of conteſts, that the Portugueſe ſhould again be put in poſſeſſion of the poſt they had occupied; but that the inhabitants of Buenos-Ayres, as well as they, ſhould have the enjoyment of all the diſputed domains.

The war between the two crowns, in the beginning of the century, broke off this proviſional agreement, and in the year 1705 the Portugueſe were again driven out of St. Sacrament; but were reinſtated in the poſſeſſion of it by the peace of Utrecht. This treaty granted them even more than they had ever had, ſince it enſured to them excluſively the whole territory of the colony.

At that period a conſiderable ſmuggling trade was begun, between the Portugueſe ſettlement of St. Sacrament, and that of the Spaniards at Buenos-Ayres, in which all parts of the Brazils and of Peru, and even ſome merchants of the mother-countries, were more or leſs concerned.

The court of Madrid ſoon perceived that the treaſures of the New World were conveyed into another channel. In order to bring them back again, they did not think of any more certain method, than that of limiting, as much as poſſible, the ſtaple of theſe fraudulent connections. Their miniſters aſſerted, that the places under the dominion of the Portugueſe ought not to be extended beyond cannon ſhot; and they cauſed all the northern coaſt of the Plata, from the mouth of that great river, to the ſettlement which occaſioned them ſuch terrible alarms, to be filled up with flocks, ſheep-folds, and with the villages of Maldonado and Montevideo, and contrived other known methods of occupying this intermediate ſpace.

Theſe unforeſeen enterpriſes revived everlaſting animoſities, which had been for a ſhort time ſuſpended by their commercial connections. Theſe neighbouring people carried on a clandeſtine war with one another. The two nations were upon the brink of an open rupture, when, in 1750, a treaty was propoſed, which ap-

peared likely to fettle the differences between thefe two monarchies. By this treaty, the Portuguefe exchanged the colony of St. Sacrament, and its territory, for the feven miffions formerly eftablifhed on the eaftern coaft of the Uruguay.

It was neceffary that this treaty fhould be executed in America; and this was not an eafy matter. The Jefuits, who from their earlieft origin had opened to themfelves a fecret road to dominion, might have objected to the difmembering of an empire which owed its exiftence to their labours. Independent of this great intereft, they might have thought themfelves refponfible for the felicity of a docile fet of people, who, by throwing themfelves in their arms, had intrufted them with the care of their future welfare. Befides, the Guaranis had not been conquered; and therefore, when they fubmitted to Spain, they did not give that crown the right of alienating them from their dominion; without having reflected on the inconteftable rights of nations, they might imagine that it belonged to them alone to determine what was conducive to their happinefs. The horror they were well known to entertain for the Portuguefe yoke, was equally capable of leading them aftray, or of enlightening them. So critical a fituation required the greateft precautions, and they were attended to.

The forces which the two powers had fent from Europe, and thofe which could be affembled in the New World, united themfelves in order to furmount the obftacles that were forefeen; but thefe preparations did not terrify the people that were the object of them. Although the feven ceded colonies were not affifted by the other colonies, at leaft not openly; although they were no more headed by the chiefs, who till that time had led them on to battle, they were not afraid of taking up arms to defend their liberty. But their military conduct was not fuch as it ought to have been. Inftead of contenting themfelves with haraffing their enemies, and with interrupting the provifions they were obliged to get from the diftance of two hundred

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leagues, the Guaranis ventured to wait for them in the open field. They loſt a battle which coſt them two thouſand men. This conſiderable check diſconcerted their meaſures; their courage ſeemed to give way, and they abandoned their territory, without making thoſe efforts which were expected from their firſt reſolution, and which were, perhaps, conſiſtent with their ſtrength.

After this event, the Spaniards attempted to take poſſeſſion of the colony of St. Sacrament. The Portugueſe refuſed to give it up, alleging that the inhabitants of the Uruguay were only diſperſed; and that, till the court of Madrid ſhould ſettle them in ſome of their own domains, they would always be diſpoſed to recover that territory which they had quitted with ſo much regret. Theſe difficulties, whether real or imaginary, prevented the concluſion of the treaty, which was even entirely put a ſtop to by the two courts in 1761, and every thing fell again into confuſion.

From that time, theſe deſerts have been almoſt inceſſantly ſtained with blood; ſometimes by hoſtilities that were not publicly avowed, and ſometimes by open wars. Portugal, deprived of the aſſiſtance of England, hath at length been obliged to ſubmit. The treaties of the firſt of October 1777, and of the eleventh of March 1778, have deprived it for ever of the colony of St. Sacrament; but they have reſtored it to the territory of the river St. Peter, which had been taken from it, under the pretences ſo frequently alleged, of the line of mark.

While theſe reſtleſs and enterpriſing men were ravaging the Amazon and the Plata, ſome laborious and peaceable citizens were employed in multiplying on the coaſt of Brazil important productions, which were delivered to the mother-country, which, in return, ſupplied them with every thing they were in want of.

Portugal had ſettled its connections with the Brazils upon a bad plan; to

The whole trade was carried on by a fleet, which ſailed every year from Liſbon and Oporto in the month of March. The ſhips it conſiſted of parted when they came to a certain latitude, and proceeded to their reſpective deſtinations; but they afterwards all met at

Bahia to fail for Portugal, which they reached in September or October the year following, under convoy of the men of war, which had efcorted them at their going out.

which a fyftem of monopoly, ftill more deftructive, was fubftituted.

A regulation fo contrary to maxims generally received was cenfured by many judicious perfons, who thought it would have been better to have left the merchants at liberty to fend out their fhips, and order them home when it fuited them beft. This fyftem would have reduced the expence of freight, rendered the voyages more frequent, increafed the maritime forces, and encouraged every fpecies of agriculture. The intercourfe between the colonies and the mother-country, being more conftant, would have given information which would have enabled government to extend its protection more eafily, and to fecure its authority.

The court of Lifbon feemed frequently inclined to yield to thefe confiderations, but was deterred by the fear of feeing the fhips fall into the enemy's hands if they failed feparately: by cuftom, the fway of which is ftill more powerful over government than over individuals; by the infinuations of fome men in power, whofe intereft would have been affected by the revolution; and by variety of prejudices, none of which could have borne the flighteft fcrutiny.

It was upon this principle that the Portuguefe fettlements in the Old and in the New World were founded, when the difcovery of the gold and diamond mines, in the beginning of the century, fixed the attention of all nations upon the Brazils. It was generally thought that thofe riches, added to thofe of another kind furnifhed by the colony, would render it one of the fineft fettlements of the globe. The Europeans were not yet undeceived, when they learned with furprife, that the moft important part of thofe regions was juft fubjected to the yoke of monopoly.

Portugal hath made immenfe difcoveries in Africa, and in the Eaft and Weft Indies, without the affiftance of any Company. This had been done by fome affo-

ciations, which kings, nobles, and merchants, had occasionally formed among themſelves, and which fitted out fleets more or leſs conſiderable, for thoſe three parts of the globe. It was not to be expected that a nation, which, in the barbarous ages, had purſued the ineſtimable advantages of competition, would, at laſt, in an enlightened age, adopt a pernicious ſyſtem, which, by collecting the principles of life and motion into a ſmall part of the body politic, leaves all the reſt in a ſtate of inactivity and ruin.

This plan was formed among the ruins of Liſbon, when the earth had, as it were, caſt out her inhabitants, and left them no aſylum or place of ſafety but on the ſea, or in the New World. The dreadful ſhocks which had ſubverted that ſuperb capital were ſtill repeated, and the flames that had reduced it to aſhes were ſcarce extinguiſhed, when an excluſive Company was eſtabliſhed, for the purpoſe of ſelling to foreign nations, at the Brazils, and even in retail, within the ſpace of three leagues, the wine ſo well known by the name of Port, which is drunk in many of the colonies, in part of the north, and eſpecially in England. This Company hath a capital of 3,000,000 livres [125,000l.], divided into two hundred ſhares, of 2500 livres [104l. 3s. 4d.] each. They lend to the proprietors of the vines half the price they are allowed to charge for the vintage; a price which they can never raiſe, however favourable the year may be. For the beſt wines, they are paid at the rate of 156 livres five ſols [6l. 10s. 2½d.] per ton; but they receive no more than 125 livres [5l. 4s. 2d.] for thoſe of an inferior quality. How great ſoever the dearth may be, or however conſiderable the vent, the cultivator can never expect an increaſe of more than 31 livres five ſols [1l. 6s. 2½d.] per ton, and the ton conſiſts of about 220 gallons.

Oporto, which is become the firſt city in the kingdom for its population, riches, and commerce, ſince Liſbon had, as it were, diſappeared, juſtly took the alarm, thinking that her trade would be ruined by

this fatal alienation of the rights of the whole nation in favour of a Company. The province between the Douro and the Minho, the moſt fruitful in the kingdom, formed no further expectations from its cultures. Deſpair excited a ſpirit of ſedition among the people; and this gave occaſion to the cruelties of the government. Twelve hundred perſons were either executed, condemned to public labour, baniſhed to the forts in Africa, or reduced to poverty by odious confiſcations of their poſſeſſions.

On the 6th of June 1755, an excluſive Company, with a capital of 3,000,000 livres [125,000l.], divided into twelve hundred ſhares, was eſtabliſhed for the great Para, and for the Maragnan. Four years after, the province of Fernambucca was put under a ſimilar yoke, with this difference, that the latter monopoly had a fund of 3,500,000 livres [145,833l. 6s. 8d.], which was divided into three thouſand four hundred ſhares. The two ſocieties were authoriſed to gain fifteen *per cent.* excluſive of all expences, on articles of proviſions, and to ſell their merchandiſe for forty-five *per cent.* more than they would have coſt even at Liſbon. They were allowed to pay as little as they choſe for the proviſions furniſhed by the diſtricts ſubject to their tyranny. Such extraordinary favours were to laſt twenty years, and might be renewed, to the great detriment of the colony.

Civil, military, and religious government eſtabliſhed in the Brazils.

The Brazils are at preſent divided into nine provinces, which are all governed by a ſeparate commander. Although theſe ſeveral chiefs are expected to conform to the general regulations which the viceroy thinks proper to make, they are independent of his authority, becauſe they receive their orders directly from Liſbon, and becauſe they themſelves give an account to that court of the affair in their department. They are only appointed for three years, but their commiſſion is uſually extended beyond that period. They are prohibited by the law from marrying in the country under their juriſdiction; from being concerned in any branch of trade; from accepting any

BOOK IX. present whatſoever; from receiving any emoluments for the functions of their office; and this law hath been rather ſtrictly obſerved for ſome years paſt. Accordingly, fortunes are at preſent very ſeldom made, or even begun, in thoſe poſts in the New World. The perſons who voluntarily reſign are obliged, as well as thoſe who are recalled, to give an account of their conduct to the commiſſioners appointed by the mother-country; and citizens of all ranks are indiſcriminately admitted to impeach them. If they happen to die in their poſt, the biſhop, the higheſt military officer, and the firſt magiſtrate, jointly aſſume the reins of government till the arrival of the ſucceſſor.

The juriſprudence of the Brazils is entirely the ſame as that of Portugal. There is a judge eſtabliſhed in each diſtrict, from whoſe deciſion an appeal may be made to the ſuperior tribunals of Bahia, and of Rio Janeiro, and even to thoſe of Liſbon, if it be upon matters of conſequence. The great Para and Maragnan alone are allowed to appeal immediately to the mother-country, without being obliged to appear before the two intermediate tribunals. In criminal caſes, rather a different plan is adopted. The judge of each diſtrict hath a right to puniſh, without appeal, ſmall miſdemeanours. The crimes are judged by the governor, aſſiſted by ſome aſſeſſors appointed by the law.

A particular tribunal is eſtabliſhed in every province, to take care of the legacies which belong to heirs, whoſe reſidence is acroſs the ſeas. They are allowed to deduct five *per cent.* for their ſalaries, and the reſt is ſent to Portugal, to be depoſited in a place deſtined to receive it. The inconvenience of this otherwiſe judicious inſtitution is, that the Brazilian creditors can only be paid in Europe.

The finances of each province are adminiſtered by the commandant and four magiſtrates. Their account is ſent every year to the royal treaſury of the mother-country, and ſcrutinized with great ſeverity.

Every town, and every village, in the leaſt conſiderable, hath a court of judicature. Their buſineſs is to

attend to the small concerns they are intrusted with, and to settle, under the inspection of the commandant, the trifling taxes that are necessary. Several privileges have been granted to this tribunal, especially that of having the right to carry any complaint they may have against the head of the colony immediately to the sovereign.

The military are upon the same footing in the Brazils, as in Portugal, and in the rest of Europe. The troops are at the disposal of every governor, who appoints to all the vacant commissions under the rank of captain. He hath the same authority over the militia, which consists of all the citizens that are not *fidalgos*; that is to say, of the first nobility, or who have no public employment. This body of men, who are all obliged to wear a uniform at their own expence, are never assembled in the interior parts of the country, except in cases of absolute necessity; but at Fernambucca, at Bahia, and at Rio Janeiro, they are exercised during one month every year, and are then paid by the government. The Negroes and Mulattoes have standards of their own; and the Indians fight under the same banners as the white men. The colony, at this present time, consists of fifteen thousand eight hundred and ninety-nine regulars, and of twenty-one thousand eight hundred and fifty militia.

Though the King, as Grand Master of the Order of Christ, be solely in possession of the tithes; and though the produce of the Crusade belong entirely to him; yet, in this extensive part of the New World, six bishoprics have been successively founded, which acknowledge for their superior the archbishopric of Bahia, established in the year 1552. The fortunate prelates, most of them Europeans, who fill these honourable sees, live in a very commodious manner upon the emoluments attached to the functions of their ministry, and upon a pension of twelve hundred, and from that to thirty thousand livres [from 50l. to 1250l.] granted to them by the government.

Among the inferior clergy, none but the missiona-

BOOK IX. ries who are settled in the Indian villages are paid by government; but the others find sufficient resources among the superstitious people, whom they are to edify, to instruct, and to comfort. Beside an annual tribute, paid by every family to the clergyman, he is entitled to forty sols [1s. 8d.] for every birth, every wedding, and every burial. The law which reduces this contribution to one half for poor people, and to nothing for those that are entirely indigent, is seldom observed. The avidity of the priests hath even been carried so far as to double this shameless salary, in the districts of the mines.

Some few asylums for maidens have been suffered at Bahia, and at Rio Janeiro; but it hath never been allowed to establish nunneries in the Brazils. The monks have been more successful; and there are at present twenty convents of different orders, the two richest of which are occupied by Benedictines, who are as idle as they are licentious. None of these fatal establishments are founded in the gold countries. The Jesuits had taken advantage of the influence they had over government, to evade the law, which forbade any regular orders to settle in those regions. No institution hath been powerful enough since their expulsion, to extort so signal a favour.

Though there be not absolutely an inquisition in the Brazils, the people of that country are not protected from the outrages of that barbarous institution. The ecclesiastics of the colony, who are appointed by that tribunal to be their agents, are all of them imbued with the same sanguinary maxims. Their merciless severity is mostly provoked by accusations of Judaism. This sort of fury rose to such an enormous height, from 1702 to 1718, that the minds of all men were impressed with terror, and most of the cultures were neglected.

There is no particular ordonnance in the Brazils for slaves, and they ought to be tried by the common law. As their masters are obliged to feed them, and that it is become a general custom to allot them a small piece of ground, which they are allowed to cultivate for their

own emolument, thofe among them who are induftrious and laborious are, fooner or later, enabled to purchafe their liberty. It is feldom refufed them; and they may even demand it, at the price fettled by the regulations, when they find themfelves oppreffed. It is, probably, for this reafon, that, notwithftanding the great facility they have for eloping, yet there are few fugitive Negroes throughout this vaft continent. Thofe few who are found in the country of the mines only employ themfelves quietly at a diftance, in cultivating the productions neceffary for their fubfiftence.

Such of the Negroes as have purchafed their liberty enjoy the rights of citizens as well as the Mulattoes; but they are both excluded from the priefthood, and from any civil employment. Even in the fervice they can have no commiffion, except in their own battalions. The white men feldom marry the Negro women; moft of them go no farther than to form illegal connections with them. Thefe connections, which have the fanction of the manners of the country, differ fcarcely from matrimony, in regions where men difpofe of their fortunes in conformity to their caprices and paffions.

Former and prefent ftate of the Indians fubject to Portugal in the Brazils.

The ftate of the Indians hath not always been the fame: at firft they were feized upon, fold in public markets, and compelled to work like flaves in the plantations.

In 1570, Sebaftian forbade that any Brazilian fhould be made a flave, except fuch as had been taken prifoners in a juft war: but this law was not attended to, becaufe the Portuguefe would have thought themfelves difgraced in tilling the ground; and at that time few cultivators had been fent to Africa.

The edict of Philip II. which, in 1595, confirmed the orders of Sebaftian, and which even reduced to ten years the term of flavery, to thofe whom that prince had allowed to be kept in perpetual fervitude, was equally difregarded.

Two mandates, of 1605 and 1609, again declared all the Indians, without exception, to be entirely free.

BOOK IX. Philip III. being informed that his commands were not obeyed, issued a third law, by which those who infringed it were condemned to severe penalties. But, at that period, the colony was still governed by a court of judicature, most of the members of which were born in America itself; so that the new arrangements were not much more respected than the old ones had been.

In the meanwhile, the missionaries were every day exclaiming, with greater vehemence, against the tyranny with which their converts were oppressed. In 1647, the new court of Lisbon gave way to their pressing solicitations, and formally renewed the orders which forbade the detaining of any Brazilian in slavery. The spirit of independence, which manifested itself throughout the whole colony, convinced that still tottering power, that they were not allowed to do every thing that was just; and, eight years after, their orders were qualified, by permitting that those individuals who were born of a Negro mother and of an Indian father might be kept in slavery.

The Dutch had just then been driven from this part of the New World. The connections with the coast of Africa, which had been interrupted by the bloody wars the Portuguese had been obliged to sustain against those republicans, resumed their former course. The population of the Negroes was increased in the Brazils. Their services soon disgusted the Portuguese of the natives of the country, who were weaker, and not so laborious. Those who perished were not replaced; and that species of servitude was, by degrees, abolished every where, except at St. Paul, at Maragnan, and on the Amazon river, at which places there were not yet any rich settlements, and where the Portuguese were not capable of purchasing slaves. The decrees issued in 1680, 1713, and 1741, to extirpate these remains of barbarism, were of no effect; and it was not till 1755 that all the Brazilians became really free.

At this period they were declared citizens by government; they were to enjoy that title in the same manner as their conquerors. The same road was laid

open to their talents; and they were allowed to aſpire at the ſame dignities. An event ſo much calculated to excite the emotions of a feeling heart, was ſcarce attended to. Pleaſure, fortune, war, politics, engroſs every body's attention, while a revolution, ſo favourable to humanity, almoſt generally eſcapes our notice; and that even in the eighteenth century, in the midſt of that enlightened and philoſophical age. The happineſs of nations is much talked of, but is neither perceived nor felt.

All the faulty operations of government are attacked with ſeverity; and when they, by chance, happen to do any good act, a general ſilence is obſerved. Is this the kind of acknowledgment which the people owe to thoſe who attend to their happineſs? Or, is this ſort of ingratitude calculated to attach them to their laborious offices? Is it thus they can be induced to fill them with diſtinction? If the people expect that their murmurs and their diſcontents ſhould be attended to when they are oppreſſed, they ſhould expreſs their joy in the moſt lively manner when they have obtained redreſs. Whenever the burden of the taxes hath been alleviated, let the houſes be illuminated; let them aſſemble in multitudes, and fill the houſes and the ſtreets; let them light up bonfires, and dance and ſing round them; let them pronounce with tranſport the name of their benefactor. Is there one among all the directors of the empire who would not be gratified with ſuch homage? Is there one who could ever reſolve to quit his place, or who could die without having received it? Is there a man who would not be deſirous of increaſing theſe triumphs? Is there one whoſe grandchildren would not feel a noble pride in hearing it ſaid of him, his anceſtor was the man who occaſioned the lighting up of bonfires four or five times, during the courſe of his adminiſtration? Is there one who would not be ambitious of bequeathing ſuch a mark of diſtinction to his deſcendants? Is there a man who would dare to have engraved upon his tomb the poſt he had filled in his lifetime, without mention-

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ing the public festivals that had been celebrated in his honour? Such a silence would transform the inscription into a satire. The people are equally abject in prosperity as in adversity; they know not how to complain, or how to rejoice.

Some men, more attentive to the interesting scenes that are displayed from time to time on the surface of the globe, conceived a good opinion of the new system. They flattered themselves that the Indians would apply themselves to cultivation, and multiply the productions; that their labours would enable them to procure for themselves numberless conveniences which they had not yet enjoyed; that the sight of their happiness would disgust the savages of their forests, and would determine them to a more quiet way of living; that an entire confidence would gradually be established between the Americans and the Europeans; and that they would in time become one people. They flattered themselves that the court of Lisbon would have the prudence not to disturb so desirable a harmony by any particular distinctions; that they would endeavour, by all possible means, to obliterate the memory of those evils which they had brought upon the New Hemisphere.

But how far are we from seeing these flattering hopes fulfilled! In the provinces of Fernambucca, of Bahia, of Rio Janeiro, and of Minas-Geraes, the Brazilians continue to be mixed with the Portuguese and with the Negroes, but without any change in their characters, because no pains have been taken to enlighten them; because no efforts have been made to overcome their natural laziness; because no lands have been distributed to them; and because nothing hath been given them in advance, by which their emulation might probably have been excited.

At Para, at Maragnan, at Matto-Grosso, at Goyas, and at St. Paul, the Indians have been united in a hundred and seventeen villages, over each of which a white man presides. It is his business to settle the occupations, to direct the cultures, to buy and to sell for

the community, to punifh and to reward. It is he who delivers to the agents of government the tenth of the territorial productions. It is he who appoints thofe among them who are obliged to fubmit to the labours of vaffalage with which they are oppreffed. Thefe fubaltern agents, difperfed in the feveral colonies, are fuperintended by a chief, who is vefted with great authority.

The opinions of men have been divided refpecting thefe regulations. A writer, who hath never been out of Europe, would be confidered as a very bold man, fhould he venture to decide between two parties, which an experience of three centuries hath not been able to reconcile. But let me at leaft be permitted to obferve, that one of the moft enlightened men that ever lived at the Brazils, hath frequently told me, that the Indians, who are fuffered to be their own mafters in the Portuguefe colony, are very fuperior in underftanding and induftry to thofe who are kept under perpetual tuition.

Prefent ftate of the govern-ment of Para.

The government of Para is the moft northern of any of thefe colonies. It comprehends that portion of Guiana which belongs to the Portuguefe; the borders of the Amazon, from the conflux of the Madeira and the Mamore; and to the eaft, all that fpace which extends as far as the river of the Tocantines. This is the moft barren and the moft unwholefome country in thefe regions.

No productions can be expected in Guiana, except on the Black River, the elevated banks of which would be very fit for all the productions that enrich the beft colonies of America. But this country is only inhabited by Indians, who are almoft folely employed in the turtle fifhery, and whom it hath not yet been poffible to fix to any thing but the cutting of fome woods for cabinet-work. This river receives that of Cayari, where, in 1749, a filver mine was difcovered, which undoubtedly, for fome political reafons, hath never been worked.

The borders of the Amazon, on the north fide, are

BOOK IX. almost under water. The small quantity of dry land that is found there is perpetually infested with all kinds of insects.

Though the south part of the Amazon be marshy in many places, yet its soil is commonly more firm, and less infested with reptiles. The great and numerous rivers which empty themselves into it afford still greater resources for cultivation, and yet there is no settlement formed upon them.

The Portuguese navigators did not enter the Amazon before the year 1535. Ayres d'Acunha and his followers were almost all shipwrecked there. It was not till 1615, that Francis Caldeira laid the foundations of a town, which was called Belem, on the banks of the rivers. In 1663, the territory of Macapa was given by government to Bento Maciel Parente, and afterwards the island of Joanna to Macedo: but these two grants have been since reunited to the crown; the first by the extinction of the family that had obtained it, and the second by exchanges.

The Portuguese contented themselves, for a long time, with making excursions of greater or less extent, to carry off some Brazilians. They were a set of turbulent and daring savages, who were endeavouring to subdue other savages less strong and less courageous than themselves. These destructive fatigues, these unavailing cruelties, had lasted for the space of a century, when some missionaries undertook to civilize the wandering Indians. They have assembled no inconsiderable number of them in seventy eight villages, but without being able entirely to fix them there. After having spent four or five months in a sedentary and idle life, these men, attracted by their ancient habits, forsook their habitations and families, in order to gather in the forests the productions of uncultivated nature, which, with very little labour, they might have procured at home, or might have substituted to them others of a superior quality. The wild cacao, the vanilla, the tortoise, and crab-shells, the sarsaparilla, the capivi balsam, and the vegetable wool, which are col-

lected in these ruinous excursions, that are renewed every year, are carried to Belem, the capital of the government.

This town, which is built at the distance of twenty leagues from the sea, and upon a soil that rises thirteen feet above the level of the ocean, was for a long time nothing more than a staple, to which the riches of the savages were conveyed from the inland country. Some Negroes, whom it hath at last procured, have cultivated in its neighbourhood a small quantity of cotton, which is afterwards manufactured in the country itself; and some sugar-canes, the indifferent produce of which is afterwards made into brandy. They have also cultivated coffee, rice, and cacao, for exportation. The sale of the flocks, which grazed in the island of Marajo, was for a considerable time one of their resources. At present they have scarce oxen enough remaining for their own consumption.

Before the year 1755, this establishment received every year from the mother-country from thirteen to fourteen ships. Since it hath been subjected by a mistaken or corrupted ministry to a monopoly, it receives no more than five or six. The value of its exports seldom exceeds 600,000 livres [25,000l.]. This feeble produce is not much increased by the wood for building, which the government buys up, and carries away upon its ships.

The population of the colony consists of four thousand one hundred and twenty-eight white men, of nine thousand nine hundred and nineteen black slaves, or free Mulattoes, and of thirty-four thousand eight hundred and forty-four Indians.

This country, which in 1778 hath been relieved from the oppression necessarily attending an exclusive privilege, will undoubtedly avail itself of its liberty. The port of Belem, which is called Para, a name which is likewise sometimes given to the city, doth not oppose so many obstacles to the success of any enterprise as is commonly imagined. It is, indeed, difficult of access. Currents which run in contrary directions,

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and which are occasioned by a multitude of small islands, render the navigation of ships slow and uncertain. But when once they get into the harbour, they anchor in a muddy bottom, with four, five, or six fathom of water. The canal which leads up to it grows, however, more shallow every day; and in a short time it will not be practicable, if, as it must be supposed, the waters continue to deposit as much earth as they have dragged into it for this last century.

State of the government of Maragnan.

The Maragnan is separated from Para on the north by the river of the Tocantines, from Goyaz on the south by that of the Cordeleirias mountains, which is called Guacoragua, and on the west from Fernambucca by the Ypiapaba mountains.

The Portuguese arrived for the first time in this province in 1535; and they were cast upon it by a storm; but they did not settle there till 1599. The French seized upon it in 1612, and were driven from thence three years after. It remained under the yoke of the Dutch from 1641 to 1644; at which period the first usurpers again took possession of it, and have kept it ever since.

The business of collecting the ambergrise upon the coasts, which was the amusement of the savages, became the occupation of the first Europeans. This trifling resource was soon exhausted; and no other was substituted to it, as there ought to have been. The settlement continued for a long time in a languishing state; and it hath been but lately perceived, that the cotton which grew upon this territory was the best in the New World. The culture of this plant increases daily; and, for some years past, that of rice hath been joined to it, though it be of an inferior quality to the rice of the Levant, and even to that of North America. Several attempts have been made to produce silk there; but the climate hath been found totally unfit for it. The project, however, of enriching the country by the culture of indigo, seems to promise much success. The finest arnotto of the Brazils is already gathered there.

The part of the colony firſt peopled was the iſland of Saint Louis, which is ſeven leagues long, and four broad, and which is ſeparated from the continent only by a very ſmall river. There is a town of the ſame name in it, where all the trade is tranſacted, although it hath a bad harbour. Some cultivations are carried on there; but the moſt conſiderable are on the continent, upon the rivers of Ytapicorié, of Mony, of Iquara, of Pindaré, and of Meary.

In the ſame government, and towards the back of the province, is the country of Pauchy, where the inhabitants of St. Paul penetrated in 1571. It was not conquered without much difficulty, and is not yet entirely ſubdued on the eaſtern ſide. Its ſoil is uneven and ſandy, though exceedingly elevated. It is inhabited by ſhepherds. Upon this ſoil, which is covered with ſaltpetre, they rear a conſiderable number of horſes and horned cattle, which are ſold to tolerable advantage in the neighbouring countries; but the ſheep degenerate there, as well as in the reſt of the Brazils, except in the Coritibe. Unfortunately, the too frequent droughts, and the exceſſive heats, very often deſtroy whole flocks, when ſufficient attention is not paid to lead them in time to diſtant paſtures.

The mines of ſulphur, alum, copperas, iron, lead, and antimony, are very common and very ſuperficial in theſe mountains, and yet none of them have been opened. Permiſſion was, indeed, given, in 1572, to work the ſilver one which had been diſcovered three or four years before; but very ſoon after the court retracted this permiſſion, for reaſons that are not known to us.

This government conſiſts of eight thouſand nine hundred and ninety-three white men, ſeventeen thouſand eight hundred and forty-four Negroes, or free Mulattoes, and ſlaves; and of thirty-eight thouſand nine hundred and thirty-ſeven Indians, either ſcattered, or aſſembled in ten villages. The exportations have not as yet been equal to this degree of population. Their value was little more than 6 or 700,000

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livres [from 25,000l. to 29,166l. 13s. 4d.]; but since the monopoly hath been abolished, it must become more considerable.

State of the government of Fernambucca.

The province which follows that of Maragnan, and which is called Fernambucca, was formed out of four private estates.

Fernambucca itself was given, in 1527, to Edward Coelho; and was reunited to the crown as a conquest, after the Dutch had been driven from it in 1654.

The historian De Barros obtained the district of Paraiba from John III., but he neglected the peopling of it. Some vagabonds went over in 1560, and in 1591 were subdued by the French, who were soon obliged to evacuate it. Philip III. caused a city to be erected upon this royal domain, which is at present known by the name of Notre Dame de Neves.

The property of Rio Grande, a district which had till then been entirely neglected, was ceded to Emanuel Jordan in 1654. The shipwreck of this enterprising man, at the entrance of the harbour, restored to the hands of government, lands, which were soon after cultivated by some individuals.

It is not known at what time, nor to whom, Tamaraca had been granted; but it became a national possession again soon after the elevation of the house of Braganza to the throne of Portugal.

This flourishing government is at present surrounded by the river St. Francis, and by several branches of the Cordeleirias. The coasts afford a small quantity of cotton. In no country of these regions sugar is to be found in such great perfection as upon those plains which are well watered. The mountains are covered with horned cattle, which supply a great quantity of leather. This district alone furnishes the Brazil wood.

The tree which it is taken from is not perfectly known by the botanists. It is, however, believed, that it is in some respects analogous to the *bresillet* of the Antilles, and to the tara, or poinciana spinosa, of Peru. Those who have described it affirm, that it is tall, very branchy, and covered with a brown bark full of

thorns. Its leaves are composed of a common costa, which supports from four to six other costæ, furnished with two rows of small green leaves, shining, and resembling the leaves of box. The flowers, disposed in clusters towards the extremity of the branches, are small, and more odoriferous than those of the lily: they have a calix with five divisions, ten stamina, and five petals, four of which are yellow, and the fifth is of a beautiful red colour. Their pistil becomes an oblong flattened pod, stuck full of points, and filled with some red seeds.

The bark of this tree is so thick, that the wood is reduced almost to nothing when stripped of it. This wood is very fit for works of turnery, and takes a good polish: but its principal use is in the red dye, where it supplies the place of double the quantity of logwood. The most arid soils, and the most craggy rocks, are the places which it chiefly delights in.

The trade of this wood is monopolized, and it belongs to the queen's household. The first dealers in this article agreed to receive annually in the magazines of government, where it is deposited, thirty thousand quintals of it, at 30 livres [1l. 5s.] the quintal. It was discovered, after several experiments, that this quantity was not consumed in Europe; and they were obliged to take no more than twenty thousand quintals; but it was raised to 40 livres [1l. 13s. 4d.] the quintal. Such is the present contract, which is in the hands of two Englishmen settled in Portugal. They give 800,000 livres [33.333l. 6s. 8d.] for the wood with which they are furnished, and sell it at Lisbon itself for 1,000,000 livres [41,666l. 13s. 4d.]. The expences they are at amount to 128,000 livres [5333l. 6s. 8d.]; and therefore the profits are 72,000 livres [3000l.].

The population of Fernambucca consists of nineteen thousand six hundred and sixty-five white men, thirty-nine thousand one hundred and thirty-two Negroes or Mulattoes, and thirty-three thousand seven hundred and twenty-eight Indians. There are four

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harbours fit to receive ſmall veſſels. That where the ſhoal is, which is the port of Olinda, can admit larger ſhips; but they are neither conveniently ſituated, nor in ſafety.

The iſland of Fernando de Noronha is at ſixty leagues diſtance from theſe coaſts of Fernambucca; but it is under its dependence. The Portugueſe, who had at firſt ſettled there, ſoon forſook it; but in 1738, the court of Liſbon, ſuſpecting that the French Eaſt India Company meant to take poſſeſſion of it, built ſeven forts there, conſtructed with great ſkill. They are provided with artillery, and defended with a garriſon of regular troops, which is relieved every ſix months. There are no other inhabitants but a few exiles, a ſmall number of very indigent Meſtees, and the Indians who are employed in the public labours. Though this ſoil be deep and good, no kind of cultivation hath ever ſucceeded there, becauſe the rains do not fall for three or four years together. From the month of December till the month of April, turtles are the only food; after that time they diſappear, and the inhabitants have no reſource but in the proviſions ſent from the continent. There are two harbours for foreign veſſels in the iſland, where ſhips of all rates are in ſafety, when north and weſt winds do not prevail.

State of the government of Bahia.

The government of Bahia is encloſed by the river St. Francis on the north, by the river Doce on the ſouth, and by the river Preto, one of the arms of the Green River, on the eaſt. It conſiſts of the captainſhip of Xegerippe, the revolutions of which are not known to us; of the captainſhip of Itheos, of which George de Figueredo was deprived, after its deſtruction by the Aimorés Indians; of the captainſhip of Porto Seguro, which returned to the crown after the extinction of the family of the Tourinhos; and of the country of Bahia, which was never a private property.

San Salvador, the capital of this ſettlement, was for a long time that of all the Brazils. The way to it is by the bay of All Saints, which is two leagues and a half broad at the entrance. On each ſide ſtands a

fortress, intended rather to prevent landing, than to hinder ships from passing by. It is thirteen or fourteen leagues in length, and interspersed with little islands, which are full of cotton trees, and form an agreeable prospect. It grows narrow towards the bottom, which is sheltered from every attack, and makes an excellent harbour for the most numerous fleets. The town commands this harbour, being built on the slope of a steep hill.

This city contains two thousand houses, which are most of them built with great magnificence. The furniture here is the more rich and elegant, as extravagance in dress is strictly prohibited. By a very old law, which hath often been broken, and which extends to the New World since the year 1749, the Portuguese are forbidden to wear any gold or silver stuffs, or any laced clothes; but their passion for show, which no laws can eradicate, hath induced them to contrive some substitute, and to wear diamond crosses, medals, and chaplets, or beads, the rich ensigns of a poor religion. The gold they cannot wear themselves, they lavish to adorn their domestic slaves.

As the situation of the town will not admit of coaches, the rich, who will always be distinguished from the vulgar, have contrived to be carried in cotton hammocks. Supinely stretched upon velvet cushions, and surrounded with silken curtains, which they open and shut at pleasure, those proud and lazy mortals move about more voluptuously, though with less expedition, than in the most easy and elegant carriages.

The women seldom enjoy this luxury. These people, who are superstitious to a degree of fanaticism, will hardly allow them to go to church, covered with their cloaks, on high festivals; and no one is suffered to see them in their own houses. This restraint, which is the effect of an ungovernable jealousy, doth not prevent them from carrying on intrigues, though they are sure of being stabbed to death upon the slightest suspicion. By a lenity more judicious than ours, a girl who, without her mother's consent, or even under her protection,

BOOK IX. yields to the importunities of a lover, is treated with less severity. But if the father cannot conceal her infamy, by disposing of her in marriage, he abandons her to the scandalous trade of a courtezan. Thus it is that riches bring on a train of vices and corruption, especially when they are acquired by bloodshed and murder, and are not preserved by labour.

The want of society, consequent upon the separation of the sexes, is not the only impediment to the pleasures and enjoyments of life at Bahia. The hypocrisy of some, the superstition of others; avarice within, and pompous parade without; extreme effeminacy, bordering upon extreme cruelty, in a climate where all the sensations are quick and impetuous; the distrust that attends weakness; the indolence that trusts every thing to slaves, whether it relate to pleasure or business; all the vices that are to be found, either separately or collectively, in the most corrupt southern countries, constitute the character of the Portuguese at Bahia. However, the depravity of their manners seems to decrease, since they are become rather more enlightened. The acquisition of knowledge, the abuse of which will sometimes corrupt virtuous nations, may refine, if not reform, a degenerate nation; it will at least make crimes less frequent, will cast a varnish of elegance over corruption, and will introduce an hypocritical kind of urbanity, and a contempt for the grosser vices.

Though San Salvador be no longer the capital of the Brazils, yet the province is still the most populous of the colony. It consists of thirty-nine thousand seven hundred and eighty-four white men, and sixty eight thousand and twenty-four Negroes. It shares with the other colonies the culture of sugar, cotton, and of some other productions; and hath the advantage over them of the fishery, and of tobacco.

The whale-fishery hath been very anciently established in the Brazils. All the Portuguese of the Old and of the New World had enjoyed, from its first rise, the natural rights of this fishery; but it hath been, for a long time past, subjected to an exclusive privilege,

purchafed by a Company formed at Lifbon, whofe fhips are freighted at Bahia. Its annual produce confifts, at prefent, of three thoufand five hundred and thirty pipes of oil, which, at the rate of 175 livres [7l. 5s. 10d.] the pipe, amounts to 617,750 livres [25,740l. 1s. 8d.]; and of two thoufand and ninety quintals of whale-bone, which, at the rate of 150 livres [6l. 5s.] the quintal, amount to 313,500 livres [13,062l. 10s.] Thefe two fums added together, amount to 931,250 livres [38,802l. 1s. 8d.]. The monopolizers give to government 300,000 livres [12,500l.]. Their expences do not exceed 268,750 livres [11,198l. 8s. 4d.]; and their profits amount to 362,500 livres [15,154l. 3s. 4d.].

This branch of induftry muft be entirely given up, unlefs it be immediately put upon a different footing. Nothing but an unlimited freedom of trade can poffibly fuftain the competition of the American traders, whofe activity hath already extended itfelf as far as thofe diftant feas, and ftill beyond them. The court of Lifbon ought even to encourage, by all poffible means, the whale-fifhery in the Cape de Verde Iflands, and in the other iflands near the burning fhores of Africa, which are at prefent fo ufelefs to them.

Though moft of the countries of Brazil furnifh a fmall quantity of tobacco, it may be faid, that this article hath not become an object of confequence any where, except at Bahia. It thrives in a fpace of ninety leagues, and in the diftrict of Cachoeira ftill better than in any other place. This production had for a long time been enriching the province, when the taxes with which it was loaded, on its exportation from Portugal, raifed its price fo high as to prevent the confumption of it. There was fo little demand for it in foreign markets, that in 1773, the cargoes of it did not exceed eight-and-twenty thoufand quintals. The year following, the duties, which amounted to 27 livres 12 fols [1l. 3s.] per hundred weight, were fuppreffed, and this cultivation immediately recovered its former profperity. The colonift then received for

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this commodity 22 livres 16 sols [19s.] per quintal, instead of 12 livres 10 sols [10s. 5d.], which he received before.

Ten thousand quintals of inferior tobacco are sent annually from the Brazils to the coasts of Africa, which being purchased in the colony itself, even at the rate of 18 livres [15s.] per hundred weight, bring in 180,000 livres [7500l.]. Fifty-eight thousand five hundred quintals are sent into Portugal, which, at their first entrance into the country, are sold for 40 livres [1l. 13s. 4d.] the hundred weight; the total value of which is 2,340,000 livres [97,500l.], and the two sums put together, amount to 2,520,000 livres [105,000l.].

Every speculator is allowed to purchase the tobacco that is conveyed to the mother-country; but it must be deposited in a public warehouse, where it pays two sols six deniers [about five farthings] per quintal to the government for store-room. From this warehouse is taken that quantity of tobacco which the kingdom is not in want of, and which is to be disposed of to foreign nations. Genoa purchases that of the best quality. Spain, as well as Portugal, consumes only the second sort, and Hamburgh is satisfied with the most inferior kind of tobacco. It is this which is also purchased by the French, and other navigators who are in want of it for their Negro trade.

The purchaser freely applies to the merchants in whom he confides; but the court of Madrid, who never have any tobacco bought but for smoking, usually employ only one agent, to whom they pay for it at the rate of nine sols [4½d.] the pound.

Portugal, Madeira, and the Azores, where the tobacco is equally monopolized by the crown, do not consume annually, for smoking, more than seven hundred thousand weight of it, which, at the rate of five livres [4s. 2d.] the pound, must amount to 3,520,000 livres [146,666l. 13s. 4d.]; and in snuff, only five hundred and twenty-eight thousand pounds, which, at the rate of seven livres ten sols [6s. 3d.] per pound,

muſt produce 3,960,000 livres [165,000l.]; ſo that the whole amount of this article is 7,480,000 livres [311,666l. 13s. 4d.]. The government, however, does not receive more than 5,481,250 livres [228,385l. 8s. 4d.]. The remainder of the ſum is expended in the purchaſe of materials, the expences of preparing the tobacco, and the profits of the people who farm it.

The ſnuff which is conſumed in Africa, and in the Eaſt Indies, is likewiſe under the yoke of monopoly; but it is the queen's revenue. She receives 450,000 livres [18,750l.] for one hundred and fifty quintals, which are annually ſent to thoſe diſtant regions; excluſive of the profits which muſt ariſe from the ſale of the pepper that is ſent from Goa in exchange.

State of the government of Rio Janeiro.

The government of Rio Janeiro almoſt totally occupies the long coaſt, which commences at the river Doce, and ends at that of Rio Grande of St. Peter; and in the inland countries, it is bounded only by the enormous chain of mountains which extends from Una to Minas Geraes. It has abſorbed the captainſhips of St. Eſprit, of Cabofrio, and of the South Paraiba, granted by government at different periods, and which have fallen in again in ſeveral ways to the domains of the crown.

The cultures remained for a long time in a languid ſtate, in this ſpacious and beautiful province: but they daily acquire ſome importance. Tobacco, indeed, is neither better, nor in greater plenty, than it was formerly; but for theſe three years paſt the ſugar-canes have multiplied there, and more eſpecially in the plains of Guatacazès. Twelve modern plantations of excellent indigo, announce a more conſiderable number, and a tolerable quantity of coffee hath been brought from thence by the laſt ſhips. The ſouthern diſtricts of the colony, as far as Rio Grande, furniſh a great many hides, ſome flour, and very good ſalt proviſions. There are fourteen or fifteen different kinds of wood for dyeing, which will ſoon be cut down; and ſeven or eight ſorts of gums, which will at laſt be gathered. Two plants were diſ-

BOOK IX. covered at Bahia, about twenty years ago, which are known by the names of Curuata and Tocum, and which might be employed for fails and cordage. A fmall fhrub, infinitely more fit for thefe purpofes, hath been lately difcovered on the territory of Rio Janeiro, and is very common. It is fometimes white, fometimes yellow, and fometimes purple; but the firft of thefe colours is the beft.

There is no deficiency of hands for the carrying on the labours. The province reckons forty-fix thoufand two hundred and feventy-one white men, thirty-two thoufand one hundred and twenty-fix Indians, and fifty-four thoufand and ninety-one Negroes.

The riches that are produced by the labours of thefe men, either free or flaves, are carried to Rio Janeiro, formerly the capital of all the Brazils, and the place of the viceroy's refidence.

It is one of the fineft harbours that is known; though narrow at its beginning, it widens gradually. Ships of all denominations enter it with eafe, from ten or twelve o'clock in the morning, till the evening, and are carried in by a regular and moderate fea breeze. It is fpacious, fafe, and convenient. It hath an excellent bottom of mud, and five or fix fathom of water in every part.

It was firft difcovered in 1525 by Dias de Solis. Some French Proteftants, who were perfecuted in their own country, made a fmall fettlement there under the guidance of Villegagnon. This fettlement confifted only of fifteen or twenty huts, made of boughs and covered over with grafs, after the manner of the favages in thofe parts. Some fmall bulwarks that were erected for planting of cannon, occafioned the name of Fort Coligni to be given to it. It was deftroyed three years after by Emanuel de Sa, who, in a fertile foil, under a beautiful fky, and at the foot of feveral mountains, which are difpofed in form of an amphitheatre, laid the foundation of a city, which is become famous, fince fome confiderable mines have been difcovered in its neighbourhood.

This city is the grand ſtaple of the riches which flow from the Brazils to Portugal, and the harbour where the fineſt fleets deſtined for the ſupply of that part of the New World put in. Beſide the treaſures that this continual circulation muſt produce, 3,000,000 livres [125,000l.] remain there every year for the expences of government, and a much larger ſum, when the miniſtry of Liſbon think it ſuitable to their ſyſtem of politics to have men of war built there.

A town, where buſineſs is ſo conſiderable and ſo conſtant, muſt have been ſucceſſively enlarged and peopled. Moſt of the citizens live in houſes two ſtories high, built with freeſtone, or bricks, covered with tolerably fine ſlate, and ornamented with a balcony, ſurrounded with lattices. It is at theſe balconies that the women, either by themſelves, or attended by their ſlaves, make their appearance; it is from thence that they caſt flowers on the men whom they chooſe to diſtinguiſh, and upon thoſe whom they wiſh to invite to the moſt intimate connection between the two ſexes. The ſtreets are large and even, terminated by a chapel, where the people ſing hymns every evening before a ſaint, magnificently habited, and fixed up in a gilded nitch, well illuminated, and covered with the cleareſt mirror. There is no public edifice worthy of attention, except a large aqueduct, which conveys the water from the neighbouring heights, and the mint. The churches are all gloomy, low, and overcharged with ornaments, executed without taſte.

The morals are the ſame at Rio Janeiro as at Bahia, and in all the mine countries. Similar thefts, ſimilar treaſons, ſimilar revenges, and ſimilar exceſſes of all kinds prevail, and with equal impunity.

It hath properly been ſaid, that gold was the repreſentative of all kinds of riches; but it might have been added, that it was likewiſe the repreſentative of happineſs and misfortune, of almoſt all the vices, and of almoſt all the virtues: for what good or bad action cannot be done by means of gold? It cannot, therefore, be ſurpriſing that nothing ſhould be a check upon us

BOOK IX. in our attempts to obtain fo important an object! It cannot be furprifing, that, when obtained, it fhould become the fource of the moft fatal abufes, and that thefe abufes fhould be multiplied in proportion to the vicinity and to the abundance of this precious and pernicious metal.

The fituation of the city, in twenty-two degrees twenty minutes of fouthern latitude, placed it at fuch a diftance from the Old World, that it might have been prefumed moderate fortifications only would be required for its defence; but as the temptation for attacking it might become greater, in proportion to the increafe of its riches, it was thought proper to add to the works. Thefe were already very confiderable, when Du Guay Trouin took it in 1711, with fuch intrepidity and fkill, as redounded much to his honour, and was a great addition to the fame he had already acquired. The new fortifications that have fince been added to thofe the French had maftered, have not made the town more impregnable, as it may be attacked on other fides, where the landing is very practicable. If gold can make its way into brazen towers through iron gates, much more will iron break down the gates that defend gold and diamonds. And, indeed, the court of Lifbon has not thought it fufficient to fortify Rio Janeiro.

In the government of Rio Janeiro, we meet with the ifland of St. Catherine, nine leagues in length, and two in breadth, and feparated from the continent by a narrow channel. Though the land be not low, it is not feen at a diftance, becaufe it is fhaded by the neighbouring mountains on the continent. Navigators find there a perpetual fpring, excellent water, great plenty of wood, a variety of delicious fruits, vegetables, which are fo welcome to failors, and a pure air, except in the harbour, where the hills intercept the circulation of air, and make it conftantly damp and unwholefome.

Towards the year 1654, the court of Lifbon gave Saint Catherine to Francis Dias Velho, in the fame

manner as the other countries in Brazil had been ceded. This captain was killed by an English pirate; and his island became the refuge of vagabonds. These adventurers acknowledged, in a vague manner, the authority of Portugal, but did not adopt the exclusive system of that state. They admitted indiscriminately the ships of all nations that were sailing to the South Seas, or to India, and gave them their oxen, their fruits, their pulse, and all their productions, in exchange for arms, brandy, linen, and wearing apparel. Beside their contempt for gold, they showed an indifference for all the conveniences that nature did not supply them with, which would have done honour to a virtuous people.

The scum and refuse of civilized bodies may sometimes form a well regulated society. The iniquity of our laws, the unjust distribution of property, the miseries of want, the insolence and impunity of wealth, and the abuse of power, often make rebels and criminals. If we collect together all those unfortunate men who are banished from society by the too great rigour, and often the injustice, of the laws, and give them an intrepid, generous, humane, and enlightened chief, we shall make these profligate men become honest, tractable, and rational. If their necessities urge them to war, they will become conquerors; and to aggrandise themselves they will violate the rights of nations, though strict observers of their own reciprocal duties: such were the Romans. If, for want of an able leader, they be left to chance and natural events, they will be mischievous, restless, rapacious, unsettled, for ever at war, either among themselves or with their neighbours: such were the Paulists. Lastly, if they can more easily live upon the natural fruits of the earth, or by agriculture and trade, than by plunder, they will contract the virtues proper to their situation, and the mild inclinations that arise from a rational love of ease. Civilized by the happiness and security of an honest and peaceable life, they will respect in others those rights which they themselves enjoy, and will barter

BOOK IX. the superfluities of their produce for the conveniences of other nations: such were the people who had taken refuge at St. Catherine's.

They lived with freedom and tranquillity, when, towards the year 1738, it was thought proper to give them an administration, to send them troops, and to surround their harbour, which was one of the best in America, with fortifications. These means of defence have drawn upon them, in 1778, the arms of Spain, and have not preserved them from an invasion. Since they are returned under the dominion of their former master, in consequence of the reconciliation between the two crowns, they have acquired the cochineal, from which they expect great advantages in future.

The town of St. Paul is thirteen leagues distant from the ocean, in a delightful climate, and in the midst of a country equally favourable for the productions of the two hemispheres. It was built about the year 1570, by the malefactors with which Portugal had infested the coasts of the New World. No sooner did these villains perceive that it was intended to subject them to some system of police, than they abandoned the shores upon which they had been cast by chance, and took refuge on some distant spot, where the power of the laws could not reach them. A situation which a small number of men could defend against a greater number of troops than could be sent against them, inspired them with the boldness of determining to be their own masters; and their ambition was crowned with success. They were recruited and multiplied by other banditti, and by the descendants proceeding from their connections with the women of the country. It is said that all travellers were strictly forbidden to enter this new republic. To obtain an admittance, it was previously necessary to promise to settle there; and candidates were to undergo a severe trial. Those who could not go through that kind of noviciate, or who were suspected of perfidy, were barbarously murdered, as were likewise all who showed any inclination to quit the settlement.

A pure air, a ferene fky, a very temperate climate, though in the 24th degree of fouth latitude, and a land abounding with corn, fugar, and excellent pafture; all thefe circumftances confpired to induce the Paulifts to lead a life of indolence, eafe, and effeminacy; but that reftleffnefs fo natural to refolute banditti; that defire of dominion which is nearly connected with a love of independence; the advances of liberty, which lead men to wifh for glory of fome kind or other, and to diftinguifh themfelves; perhaps, all thefe motives combined, prompted them to forego an eafy life, and to engage in hazardous and troublefome excurfions.

They over-ran all the inland parts of the Brazils, from one extremity to the other. All the Indians who refifted them were put to death; fetters were the portion of cowards; and feveral of the inhabitants hid themfelves in the mountains, to avoid flavery or death. It would be impoffible to enumerate the devaftations, cruelties, and enormities, of which thefe atrocious men were guilty. In the midft of thefe horrors, however, fome colonies were forming under a municipal government, which may be confidered as the origin of all the fettlements Portugal is at prefent in poffeffion of in thofe territories. Thefe fmall republics, detached, in fome meafure, from the great one, gradually yielded to the entreaties that were made ufe of, in order that they fhould be fubjected to an authority which they had never entirely difavowed; and, in procefs of time, the Paulifts fubmitted to the crown in the fame manner as the other fubjects.

That diftrict then became a government; to which were added, the captainfhips of St. Vincent and of St. Amaro, which had been given to the two brothers, Alphonfo and Peter Lopès de Soufa, their two towns having been deftroyed by pirates. This arrangement, for which it is difficult to affign a caufe, divides the province of Rio Janeiro in two parts.

The country of St. Paul does not at prefent confift of more than eleven thoufand and ninety-three white

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men, thirty-two thousand one hundred and twenty-six Indians, and eighty-seven Negroes, or Mulattoes. It sends nothing to Europe, except a small quantity of cotton; and its inland trade is confined to the furnishing of Rio Janeiro with flour and salt provisions. It hath been found by some, that flax and hemp would succeed very well there; and there is no doubt of its being as easy and important to grow silk in the country. The plentiful mines of iron and tin, which are found between the rivers Theclè and Mogyassu, in the Cordeleirias of Paranan-Piacaba, at the distance of four leagues from Sorocoba, might also be worked to great advantage.

State of the three inland governments where the mines are situated.

The six provinces we have just been speaking of are situated along the coasts: there are three others, extending from the West to the East, which occupy, in the centre of the Brazils, the large plain from which all the rivers spring that empty themselves into the Paraguai, into the Amazon, and into the Ocean. It is the most elevated spot of Portuguese America, and is filled with mountains, running in various directions. Gold is found almost throughout the whole of it; for which reason it is called the mine country.

The most important of these rich governments is known by the name of Minas Geraes. It reckons thirty-five thousand one hundred and twenty-eight white men, twenty-six thousand and seventy-five Indians, and one hundred and eight thousand four hundred and six slaves. Its capital is Villa Rica.

Joyas, the capital of which is Villa Boa, contains eight thousand nine hundred and thirty one white men, twenty-nine thousand six hundred and twenty-two Indians, and thirty-four thousand one hundred and four Negroes.

Matto Grosso, the only village of which is Villa Bella, hath not yet increased its population beyond two thousand and thirty-five white men, four thousand three hundred and thirty-five Indians, and seven thousand three hundred and fifty-one slaves. It is the

moſt weſtern part of the Portugueſe dominions. It is bounded by the Chiquitos, and by the Maxos, who were ſubjected to Spain by the labours of the Jeſuits.

History of the gold mines found in the Brazils. The manner of working them.

The knowledge of the gold mines, in this part of the New World, is traced to much more diſtant periods than is generally thought. As far back as the year 1577, the Pauliſts diſcovered ſome near the mountains of Jaguara; but the unfortunate death of King Sebaſtian ſoon occaſioned this ſource of wealth, which at that time had not been of any great advantage either to the ſtate or to individuals, to be forgotten.

In the heights of Jacobino, in the diſtrict of Rio das Velhas, new mines were again diſcovered in 1588, and to as little effect. Philip II. being determined to contain by miſery people who bore the Spaniſh yoke with too much impatience, would not permit them to be worked. If he apparently conſented to this, in 1603, it was with a reſolution to prevent it; and his baſe ſucceſſors adopted his tyrannical policy.

The fortunate revolution which, in 1640, freed the Portugueſe of their fetters, was followed by long and obſtinate wars. During the courſe of this violent criſis, the attention of the nation was wholly taken up in the defence of its liberty, and the miniſtry were always engaged in looking out for the reſources of which they were continually in want.

The ſtate of the monarchy began to be ſearched into, and its improvement to be thought of; when, in 1699, chance offered to ſome enterpriſing men great treaſures in the province of Minas Geraes. The gifts of bounteous nature were no more diſregarded; and, three years after, the court of Liſbon formed the ſettlements that were neceſſary to ſecure the benefit of them. Sabara, Rio das Mortes, Cachoeira, Paracatu, Do Carmo, Rio das Velhas, Rio Doce, and Auro Preto, are the places in that government where gold hath been ſucceſſively found, and where it is ſtill diſcovered at this day.

The mines of Goyas were not diſcovered till 1726:

they are ſituated in the diſtricts of San Felix, Meia Ponta, O Fanado, Mocambo, and Natividade.

In the year 1735, new ones were found in the province of Matto Groſſo, at St. Vincent, at Chapada, at St. Anne, at Cuiaba, and at Araès.

Beſide theſe countries, which are called by preference the Mine Regions, the mines of Jacobino and of Rio das Contas are worked in the government of Bahia, as are alſo thoſe of Parnaguay and Tibogy, in the government of St. Paul; but neither of them are very abundant.

The extraction of gold is neither very laborious, nor dangerous, in thoſe parts of the New World. It is ſometimes on the ſurface of the ſoil, and this is the pureſt kind; and, at other times, it is neceſſary to dig for it to the depth of three or four fathoms, but ſeldom lower. A layer of ſandy earth, known in the country by the name of *Saibro*, then uſually informs the miners that it would be uſeleſs to ſearch any further. Although, in general, the veins that are regular, and in the ſame direction, be the richeſt, it hath been obſerved, that thoſe ſpaces, the ſurface of which was moſt ſpangled with cryſtals, were thoſe which furniſhed the greateſt plenty of gold. It is found in larger pieces upon the mountains, and barren or ſtony rocks, than in the valleys, or on the borders of rivers. But whatever place it may have been gathered in, it is of three-and-twenty carats and a half on coming out of the mine, unleſs it be mixed with ſulphur, ſilver, iron, or mercury; a circumſtance that is common only at Goyas and Araès.

Every man who diſcovers a mine, muſt give notice of it to government. If the vein be thought of little conſequence, by perſons of the art appointed to examine it, it is always given up to the public. If it be declared to be a rich vein, the government reſerve a portion of it to themſelves. Another ſhare is given to the commandant; a third to the intendant, and two ſhares are ſecured to the diſcoverer; the reſt is divided

amongst all the miners of the district, in proportion to their circumstances, which are determined by the number of their slaves. The disputes which this species of property may give rise to, are under the cognizance of the intendant: but an appeal lies from his decrees to the supreme court established at Lisbon, under the title of Council *d'Outremer*.

The miners are obliged to deliver to the king the fifth part of the gold, which they extract by operations more or less successful. This fifth was formerly considerable, as it exceeded 9,000,000 of livres [375,000l.] annually, from the year 1728 to 1734; but it hath since gradually decreased. At present the annual produce of Minas Geraes amounts only to 18,750,000 livres [781,250l.]; that of Goyas to 4,687,500 livres [195,312l. 10s.]; that of Matto Grosso to 1,312,500 livres [54,687l. 10s.]; and that of Bahia and St. Paul together, only to 1,562,500 livres [65,104l. 3s. 4d.]. This makes, upon the whole, 25,312,500 livres [1,054,687l. 10s.], of which the government receives 5,062,500 livres [210,937l. 10s.]. The duties for the working of the gold into specie yield 1,647,500 livres [68,645l. 16s. 8d.]; and, at the rate of 2 per cent. they get 393,000 livres [16,375l.] for the conveyance, which is executed by their ships, of all the gold that belongs to trade; so that upon the 25,312,500 [1,054,687l. 10s.] which the mines produce, the ministry take 7,103,000 livres [295,958l. 6s. 8d.]. They would even receive something more, if to the amount of about 600,000 livres [25,000l.] were not annually smuggled without paying the two last mentioned taxes.

The amount of all the metals constantly circulating in the Brazils is not computed at more than 20,000,000 livres [833,333l. 6s. 8d.]

The first political writers who turned their thoughts towards the discoveries made in this region of the New World, did not hesitate to foretel, that the difference of value between gold and silver would be diminished. The experience of all countries and of all ages had taught them, that though many ounces of silver had

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always been given for an ounce of gold, becaufe mines of the former had always been more common than of the latter, yet the value of both metals had varied in every country, in proportion to the abundance of either.

In Japan, the proportion of gold to filver is as one to eight; in China, as one to ten; in other parts of India, as one to eleven, twelve, thirteen, or fourteen, as we advance further weft.

The like variations are to be met with in Europe. In ancient Greece, gold was to filver as one to thirteen. When the produce of all the mines in the univerfe was brought to Rome, the miftrefs of the world, the moft fettled proportion was one to ten. It rofe as far as one to thirteen under Tiberius. Numberlefs and infinite variations are to be met with in the barbarous ages. In a word, when Columbus penetrated into America, the proportion was lefs than one to twelve.

The quantity of thefe metals, which was then brought from Mexico and Peru, not only made them more common, but ftill increafed the value of gold above filver, as there was greater plenty of the latter in thofe parts. Spain, that was of courfe the beft judge of the proportion, fettled it as one to fixteen in the coin of the kingdom; and this fyftem, with fome flight variations, was adopted throughout Europe.

This proportion ftill exifts; but we have no reafon on that account to contradict thofe who had foretold that it would alter. If gold hath fallen but little in the markets, and not at all in the coin, fince the Brazils furnifh a great quantity of it, this is owing to particular circumftances, which do not affect the principle. A great deal of gold is now ufed for fetting of jewels, and for gilding, which has prevented the price of it from falling fo much as it would have done if our fafhions had not altered. It is this fame fpirit of luxury that hath always kept up the price of diamonds, though they are grown more common.

History of the diamond mines difcovered

At all times men have affected to make a parade of their riches, either becaufe they were originally the reward of ftrength and the mark of power, or becaufe

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In the Brazils. Remarks upon the nature of that ſtone.

they have every where obtained that regard, which is due only to abilities and virtue. A deſire of attracting the attention of others, prompts a man to ornament himſelf with the choiceſt and moſt brilliant things nature can ſupply. The ſame vanity, in this reſpect, prevails among the ſavages as in civilized nations. Of all the ſubſtances that repreſent the ſplendour of opulence, none is ſo precious as the diamond; nor hath any been of ſuch value in trade, or ſo ornamental in ſociety. Our women are ſometimes dazzling with them. It ſhould ſeem as if they were more anxious to appear rich than handſome. Are they not then ſenſible, that a neck and an arm elegantly turned, are a thouſand times more attracting when uncovered, than when they are concealed under jewels? that the weight of their ear-rings disfigures their ears? that the luſtre of the diamond only diminiſhes that of their eyes? that this expenſive dreſs is rather a ſatire upon their huſbands or their lovers, than an encomium upon their charms? that the Venus de Medicis hath nothing but a plain bracelet? and that he who only admires in a fine woman the brilliancy of her jewels, is a man devoid of taſte?

There are diamonds of all colours, and of every ſhade of the ſeveral colours. The diamond hath the red of the ruby, the orange of the hyacinth, the blue of the ſapphire, and the green of the emerald. This laſt is the moſt ſcarce, and the deareſt when it is of a beautiful tint. The roſe diamonds, blue and yellow, are the next in value. The yellowiſh and the blackiſh are leaſt eſteemed. Tranſparency and clearneſs are the natural and eſſential properties of the diamond, to which art hath added the brilliant and ſparkling luſtre of the ſeveral faces.

The diamond is a cryſtallized ſtone, of the form of an octohedron, more or leſs well-ſhaped. Its ſurfaces are in the ſhape of a pyramid, either long or flat; but its ſolid angles are never ſo clearly nor ſo regularly terminated, as they appear in the other cryſtallized ſtones, and eſpecially in the rock cryſtal.

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But this does not prevent its cryſtallization from being regular in the inſide. This ſtone is compoſed of ſmall layers, exceedingly thin, and ſo cloſely joined together as to form a ſmooth and brilliant ſurface, even at the parts where they are broken. Notwithſtanding this very cloſe connection between the elements of cryſtallization in the diamond, it can only be poliſhed by finding out the diſpoſition of the layers in their tranſverſe direction, at the point where the extreme end of one layer lies over the other. Without this precaution, the lapidaries would not ſucceed, and the diamond would not take the poliſh, as is always the caſe with thoſe which they call *veiny diamonds*, in which theſe extremities are not uniform, and in the ſame direction. The diamond-cutters compare the compoſition of theſe ſtones to the arrangement of the fibres of wood in the knotty parts, where they interſect each other in every direction.

The diamond is ſuperior to any other precious ſtone, in its luſtre, its fire, and its ſolidity. To theſe advantages are added thoſe of being more electrical, of receiving a greater quantity of light, when gently warmed by the fire, or expoſed to the rays of the ſun, and of retaining this light longer than other bodies, when it is afterwards placed in the dark. Theſe properties, and perhaps likewiſe ſome imaginary qualities, have induced natural philoſophers to think, that the diamond was formed of a more pure ſubſtance than any other ſtone. Several perſons have even imagined it contained ſome of that primitive adamitical earth, which hath been for ſo long a time the object of ſo many laborious inquiries and extravagant ſpeculations.

The hardneſs of the diamond ſuggeſted the idea of its being impoſſible to be deſtroyed, even by the moſt intenſe fire; and this opinion appeared to be very well founded. Notwithſtanding this, the analogy upon this point, deduced from other ſtones, and eſpecially from thoſe that are compoſed of quartz, which do not undergo any alteration by fire, was never more defective than in this inſtance.

There are no accounts of the diamond having been submitted to the action of fire previous to the years 1694 and 1695, when the celebrated Averani exposed one to the focus of a burning-glass, for the information of his pupil John Gaston de Medicis. The celebrated natural philosophers of those times, who assisted at this experiment, beheld with astonishment that the diamond was exhaled in vapour, and disappeared entirely, while the ruby, of a less compact texture than the diamond, only grew softer; and while other precious stones, of a still softer texture, did not experience such considerable alterations. This singular experiment was repeated upon several diamonds with equal success; but the intenseness of the fire employed was a convincing proof that it could not have been done by any other means. These first experiments were buried in oblivion, till the reign of the Emperor Francis I. who repeated them at Vienna; exposing diamonds, and other precious stones, to the most intense fire of a furnace. The result was a confirmation of the fact, that diamonds are destroyed with the greatest ease by fire, while other precious stones, even those of the softest kind, are at most but slightly affected.

The facts, though well attested, appeared so extraordinary, and were so contrary to the received prejudices, that they sunk again into oblivion. Though recorded by the cotemporary writers, they were nevertheless either unknown, or denied by those who had not been witnesses of them.

At length M. Darcet undertook in France, in 1758, to expose the diamond to the same heat as porcelain. After he had satisfied himself of the truth of the experiments made in Germany, he communicated them to the Academy of Sciences, and afterwards repeated them in the midst of Paris, in order that they might be established with all possible authenticity. As this able philosopher hath since varied and combined his experiments, the incontestible result of them, and of those that have been made after him, is, that the diamond evaporates and burns away readily in the fire

BOOK IX. and in the open air; and that the complete deſtruction of it, far from requiring the intenſe heat which it had been expoſed to before his time, ſcarce requires the degree of heat neceſſary to keep fine ſilver in fuſion.

M. Darcet hath moreover proved, that the diamond can be deſtroyed, not only in the open air, but likewiſe in crucibles made of the beſt baked porcelain, and hermetically ſealed, provided the crucibles be put in the fire of large glaſshouſes, or in the intenſe fires for making porcelain, and which have been long kept up.

The moſt active menſtruums, ſuch as alkaline ſalts in fuſion, and the moſt concentrated minerals, aſſiſted even by the heat of fire, have no effect upon the diamond. It is not affected by their action; it does not mix with any glaſs in vitrification; it does not unite with any ſubſtance that is yet known; and theſe qualities are equally common to the diamonds of India as to thoſe of Brazil; to the white diamonds, as to thoſe that are black or coloured; to the perfect diamonds, and to the veiny diamonds, which cannot be worked.

Such are the particular properties of this ſubſtance, which is hitherto unparalleled in nature; that although it poſſeſſes all the external appearances of other ſtones, it hath not the leaſt affinity to them in the nature of its compoſition; that, notwithſtanding its exceſſive hardneſs, it is the only one of the ſpecies which doth not reſiſt the action of even a moderate fire, but is entirely diſſipated by it. Thus it is that Nature, in her three kingdoms, diſplays an infinite variety of ſurpriſing irregularities. Sometimes ſhe ſeems to confine herſelf in the chain and ſcale of beings, to the order of almoſt imperceptible differences; and ſometimes, breaking through every kind of ſeries, ſhe takes a ſudden flight, leaving an immenſe void behind her, and fixes two diſtant boundaries, the intervals of which it is impoſſible to fill up. Thus it is that certain vegetables already enjoy ſome of the advantages of animal life! It is the ſame thing with gold, with mercury,

and with fulphur, compared to other mineral and metallic fubftances. It is the fame, in a word, with man, who leaves all other animals at fo great a diftance behind him.

There are very few diamond mines. Till of late years, we knew of none but in the Eaft Indies. The oldeft is on the river Gouel, that iffues from the mountains, and falls into the Ganges. It is called the mine of Solempour, from the name of a village built near that part of the river where the diamonds are found. Very few diamonds have ever been taken out of it, any more than out of the Succadan, a river in the ifland of Borneo. The chain of mountains that extends from Cape Comorin to Bengal hath yielded much more.

There is a great variety in the foil from whence the diamonds are extracted. Several of thefe mines are fix, eight, and fometimes as far as twelve feet deep, in a fandy and ftony foil; others are found in a fpecies of ferruginous mineral, where they are fifty fathoms deep. But in all parts this fingular ftone is infulated, and doth not feem to adhere to any bafis, or to any rock. It is furrounded on all fides by a thin pellicle, rather opaque, and of the nature of the diamond itfelf. This pellicle is commonly covered over with a cruft not very folid, which is formed by the furrounding earth or fand.

The Europeans, except a few inquifitive travellers, do not frequent the mines of Indoftan. They are worked by the natives, who deliver the diamonds to the rich Banians, who carried them formerly to Madras; but who, fince the roads have been made, begin to convey them to Calcutta. The whole of this branch of commerce is almoft entirely fallen, for a confiderable time paft, into the hands of a few Englifhmen, who trade on their own account. They fort the ftones of different weight and of different qualities, and put them into proper bags, which are fealed up, and fold in London with their invoice. Reckoning the fix laft years as one common year, the

united value of all these diamonds hath amounted annually to 3,420,000 livres [142,500l.] To this estimate, which only comprehends what is registered, must be added what hath been concealed, in order to avoid the duty of two and three quarters *per cent.* which must be paid to the India Company.

Among these diamonds there was one found of an irregular shape, and which weighed 193 carats when cut. It was the property of an American, who refused to cede it to the empress of Russia for the sum of 2,500,000 livres [104,166l. 13s. 4d.], beside a life annuity of 25 000 livres [1041l. 13s. 4d.]. This merchant met with no purchaser, and thought himself very fortunate when count Orloff, some time after, renewed the offer of 2,500,000 livres [104,166l. 13s. 4d.], but without the annuity. In 1722, Catherine condescended to accept, on her festival day, this valuable present from the hands of her favourite.

It was to be feared, that the revolutions which so frequently subvert Indostan would occasion a scarcity of diamonds; but this apprehension was removed by a discovery which was made in 1728, at Brazil, upon some branches of the river das Caravelas, and at Serro de Frio, in the province of Minas-Geraes.

Some slaves, condemned to search for gold, used to find some little bright pebbles mixt with it, which they threw away as useless among the sand and gravel. Antonio Rodrigues Banha suspected the value of them, and communicated his idea to Pedro de Almeida, the governor of the country. Some of these brilliant pebbles were sent to the court of Lisbon, who, in 1730, commissioned d'Acunha, their minister in Holland, to have them examined. After repeated experiments, the artists pronounced them to be very fine diamonds.

The Portuguese immediately gathered them with so much diligence, that the Rio Janeiro fleet brought home eleven hundred and forty-six ounces. This plenty lessened their price considerably; but the measures taken by an attentive ministry soon made them rise to

their original value. They conferred the exclusive right of searching for diamonds on a few wealthy associates; and in order even to restrain the avidity of the Company itself, it was stipulated that it should employ no more than six hundred slaves in that business. It hath since been permitted to increase their number at pleasure, paying 100 sols [4s. 2d.] *per* day for every miner.

To ensure the business of the chartered Company, the gold mines, which were worked in the neighbourhood, were in general shut up; and those who had founded their expectations of fortune upon this frequently deceitful basis, were compelled to turn their activity into some other channel. The other citizens were suffered to remain upon their estates; but capital punishments were decreed by the law against any person who should encroach upon the exclusive rights granted to the Company. Since the sovereign hath succeeded to the Company, all the citizens are allowed to search for diamonds, but under the restriction of delivering them to the agents of the crown at the price it hath stipulated, and on paying twenty *per cent.* upon this sum.

The diamonds that are intended to be sent from the New World to the Old, are enclosed in a casket which hath three locks, the keys of which are separately put into the hands of the chief members of administration; and those keys are deposited in another casket, which is to be sealed with the viceroy's seal. While the exclusive privilege subsisted, this precious deposit, on its arrival in Europe, was remitted to government, who retained, according to a settled regulation, the very scarce diamonds which exceeded twenty carats, and delivered every year, for the profit of the Company, to one, or to several contractors united, forty thousand carats, at prices which have successively varied. An engagement was made on one hand to receive that quantity; and on the other, not to distribute any more; and whatever might be the produce

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of the mines, which neceffarily varied, the contract was faithfully adhered to.

At prefent, the court throws fixty thoufand carats of diamonds into trade. Thefe are monopolifed by one fingle merchant, who gives 3,120,000 livres [130,000l.], at the rate of 25 livres [1l. 10d.] the carat, for them. If the fmuggling amounts to a tenth, as well-informed perfons fuppofe, the fum of 312,000 livres [13,000l.] muft be added to the fum received by government: it will be found that the produce of thofe mines, the riches of which there is fo great a propenfity to exaggerate, doth not amount annually to more than 3,432,000 livres [143,000l.]. Thefe rough diamonds are purchafed by England and Holland, who furnifh them to other nations, more or lefs well cut.

The diamonds of Brazil are not found in quarries; moft of them are fcattered in the rivers, the courfe of which is more or lefs frequently altered. It is a queftion not yet decided, whether they be formed there, or whether they have been carried there by the waters which empty themfelves into thefe rivers. The increafe of their quantity in the rainy feafons, and after violent ftorms, would induce one to believe that they have been wafhed away by the torrents which have detached them from the rocks and mountains.

In the Eaft and Weft Indies, the mines are fituated at a fmall diftance from the equator; fome of them in the firft degrees of northern latitude, and others in the correfpondent degrees of fouthern latitude. The cruft which the rough diamonds are furrounded with is thicker in the diamonds of Brazil than in thofe of Indoftan; and it is an eafy matter, or at leaft poffible, to diftinguifh them in that primary ftate. But the moft fkilful lapidaries are deceived in them, after they have been once cut; they are accordingly of equal value in trade; but this equality is to be underftood only of the fmall diamonds. Moft of the American diamonds, beyond four or five carats, have blemifhes, which are feldom found in thofe of Afia; and in that

case the difference in the price is prodigious. Some artists are likewise of opinion, that the latter are harder and more brilliant than the former; but this opinion is not generally received.

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Some very imperfect amethists and topazes are likewise found in the diamond and gold country, as well as some tolerable fine crysolites. These precious stones were never under the yoke of monopoly; and those who discover them are at liberty to dispose of them in whatever manner they think most suitable to their interest. Their annual exportation, however, does not amount to more than 150,000 livres [6250l.], and the duties which government receives from them, at the rate of one *per cent.* do not exceed 1500 livres [62l. 10s.].

Mines of iron, sulphur, antimony, tin, lead, and quicksilver, are likewise found in these rich countries, and in some other provinces of Brazil; but no care hath been taken to open any of them. Copper only seems to have been refused by nature to this vast and fruitful region of the New Hemisphere.

Present state of Brazil.

A colony so interesting hath been useful to Portugal in several ways. The increase of the public revenue, by the Brazils, seems to have been the kind of advantage which hitherto hath mostly engaged the attention of the government. The obligation to pay for the transportation of the metals, which is reserved for ships of war; the exclusive trade of diamonds, the sale of a great number of monopolies, the overloading of the customs; such are the principal sources of wealth, which, even in Europe, an insatiable treasury hath opened to itself.

These vexations have been carried still farther in America. A fifth of the profits upon gold and diamonds is required, which amounts to 6 or 7,000,000 livres [from 250,000l. to 291,666l. 13s. 4d.]. A tenth is demanded upon all kinds of productions, which, though collected without severity, amounts to 2,873,000 livres [119,708l. 6s. 8d.]. The inhabitants are obliged

BOOK IX. to purchafe crufades, which do not exceed 160,000 livres [6666l. 13s. 4d.]. A duty is alfo exacted upon flaves, which amounts to 1,076,650 livres [44,860l. 8s. 4d.]. Another for the rebuilding of Lifbon, and for public fchools, which amounts to 385,000 livres [16,041l. 13s. 4d.]; another from all fubaltern officers of juftice, which amounts to 153,000 livres [6375l.]. Ten *per cent.* is likewife required upon every import and export, which may yield 4,882,000 livres [203,416l. 13s. 4d.]; and 1,124,000 livres [43,833l. 6s. 8d.] are demanded for the liberty of conveying to inland countries the liquors and the commodities that are brought into port. Government hath alfo referved to itfelf the monopoly of falt, foap, mercury, aqua fortis, and cards, which it farms out for 710,320 livres [29,596l 13s. 4d.].

Notwithftanding all thefe taxes, which bring in annually 18,073,970 livres [753,082l. 1s. 8d.] to the crown, it hath ftill contracted engagements in the Brazils. It owes 713,000 livres [29,708l. 6s. 8d.] to Para, 517,600 [21,791l. 13s. 4d.] to St. Paul and to Matto Groffo, 10,110,000 livres [421,250l.] to Rio Janeiro; in all 11,344,600 livres [472,525l.]. In the former of thefe governments, the debt hath been occafioned by the recent conftruction of fome forts, more or lefs neceffary; and in the latter, by the wars which were obliged to be carried on againft the Guaranis in 1750, and by thofe which it hath been requifite to fuftain againft Spain.

On the other hand, in 1774, the Brazils were indebted to the merchants of the mother-country to the amount of 15,165,980 livres [631,915l. 16s. 8d.]. This was the opinion of a man who hath attended moft to this great fettlement, and hath acquired the beft information concerning it.

Foreign connections of Brazil. The colony hath formed fome commercial intercourfe with feveral countries of the globe. Formerly the fhips which returned from the Eaft Indies to Portugal ufed to put in there, and to difpofe of part

of their cargo. This intercourſe hath been interrupted in latter times, for reaſons with which we are unacquainted, but which cannot be good ones.

The weſtern coaſt of Africa, from the Cape de Verde Iſlands to beyond the country of Angola, is more than ever frequented by the Brazilian navigators; and thoſe of Rio Janeiro have begun, not long ago, to trade on the northern coaſt. Veſſels are employed in theſe voyages which are built in the colony itſelf, and which are not of leſs than ſixty tons burden, nor more than one hundred and forty. The crew is either entirely or moſtly compoſed of Negroes and Mulattoes. It is for the working of the mines, and for the cultivation of the lands, that this great exertion is made. It is evident from ſome very authentic memorials which are now before us, that for theſe eight years paſt, ſixteen thouſand three hundred and three ſlaves have been carried off from theſe unfortunate ſhores every year. Theſe ſlaves, at the rate of 312 livres [13l.], one with another, muſt have coſt 5,161,536 livres [215,064l.]. They have been paid for with the gold, the tobacco, the rums, and the cottons, which come from Brazil; and with the glaſs manufactures, the mirrors, the ribands, and ſeveral kinds of toys brought from Europe.

The connections of the colony with the Portugueſe iſlands are maintained for another purpoſe. It receives annually from Madeira, by means of eight or nine ſmall ſhips, to the amount of 400,000 livres [16,666l. 13s. 4d.] in wine, vinegar, and brandy; and from the Azores, by means of four or five more veſſels, to the amount of 610,000 livres [25,416l. 13s. 4d.] in liquors; to which are added, linens, ſalt proviſions, and flour. The agents of this trade lade themſelves, in return, with thoſe productions of Brazil, the excluſive property of which the mother-country hath not reſerved to itſelf. Theſe ſeveral branches of trade united do not carry away annually more than to the amount of 2,271,000 livres [94,625l.] of the production of the colony.

Almoſt all the riches of this vaſt region of the New

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World are carried into Portugal. From the year 1770 to 1775, they amounted annually to the fum of 56,949,290 livres [2,372,887l. 1s. 8d.]. Gold, diamonds, four hundred and forty-three thoufand quintals of fugar, fifty-eight thoufand five hundred quintals of tobacco, four thoufand five hundred quintals of cotton, twenty thoufand quintals of wood for dyeing, one hundred fourteen thoufand and twenty hides, together with fome other objects of lefs importance, made up this great fum.

After the period we have been fpeaking of, a few variations took place. We are not fufficiently acquainted with them to afcertain them with precifion; but we know to a certainty that the mother-country hath received every year from Rio Janeiro a fmall quantity of coffee and of indigo, together with one thoufand quintals of fugar, more than it received formerly. We know to a certainty that it hath received from Para and from Maragnan every year three hundred and twenty-one quintals of rice, and one hundred and ninety-two quintals of cotton, more than were formerly fent; and we alfo know that there hath been an annual diminution of four thoufand hides and of 965,000 livres [40,208l. 6s. 8d.] in the gold, among the feveral remittances that have been made.

The colony is paid with merchandife, which have not coft originally above fifteen or fixteen millions of livres [from 625,000l. to 666,666l. 13s. 4d.]. The duties received by the fovereign himfelf, feveral monopolies, exorbitant taxes, the dearnefs of freighting, and the profits of the trade, abforb the remainder.

Portugal did not formerly fend from its own country to its colonies any thing befide liquors; but, fince the induftry of the province is in fome degree revived, it furnifhes one half of the confumptions made in the part of the New Hemifphere that is under its dominion.

It is with two-thirds of the productions of Brazil, which are fold to foreigners; it is with the gold and the diamonds which come from thefe regions; it is

with the wines, the woollen cloths, the salt, and the fruits of the mother-country itself, that Portugal is enabled to pay sixty millions [2,500,000l.] for the merchandise which they annually receive from the several countries of Europe. The share which the several nations have taken in this trade hath experienced great variations. At this present time, England is in possession of fourteen parts of it, Italy of eight, Holland of seven, Hamburgh of six, France of five, Sweden of four, Denmark of four, Spain of two, and Russia of one only. The spoils of this nation have not always been thus divided.

Portugal, and its distant settlements, are fallen into a state of the utmost degradation. Reasons of this.

The first conquests of the Portuguese in Africa and Asia did not stifle the seeds of their industry. Though Lisbon was become the general warehouse for India goods, her own silk and woollen manufactures were still maintained, and were sufficient for the consumption of the mother-country and of Brazil. The national activity extended to every thing, and made some amends for the deficiency of population, which was becoming daily more considerable. Amidst the various calamities that Spanish tyranny oppressed the kingdom with, the Portuguese could not complain of a cessation of labour at home; nor was the number of manufactures much lessened at the time when they recovered their liberty.

The happy revolution that placed the duke of Braganza upon the throne was the period of this decay. A spirit of enthusiasm seized upon the people. Some of them crossed the seas, in order to defend distant possessions against an enemy who was imagined to be more formidable than he really was. The rest took up arms to cover the frontiers. The interest of the whole nation prevailed over private views, and every patriot was solicitous only for his country. It might naturally be expected, that, when the first enthusiasm was past, every one would resume his usual employment; but, unfortunately, the cruel war which followed that great event, was attended with such devastations in an open country, that the people chose rather to forego

their labours than to expofe themfelves to fee the fruits of them continually deftroyed. The miniftry encouraged this fpirit of indolence by meafures which cannot be too feverely cenfured.

Their fituation put them under a neceffity of forming alliances. Political reafons fecured to them all the enemies of Spain. The advantages they muft neceffarily reap from the diverfions made in Portugal, could not fail of attaching them to its intereft. If the new court had formed fuch extenfive views, as from the nature of their enterprife it might be prefumed they had, they would have known that they had no need to make any facrifices in order to acquire friends. By an ill-judged precipitation they ruined their affairs. They gave up their trade to other powers, who were almoft as much interefted in their prefervation as they were themfelves. This infatuation made thofe powers imagine they might venture any thing, and their avidity ftill prompted them to encroach upon the privileges that had been fo improperly lavifhed upon them. The induftry of the Portuguefe was deftroyed by this competition, but was again revived, in fome degree, by an error of the French miniftry.

This crown had, for a confiderable time paft, been in poffeffion of fome iflands in America. The fhackles with which they had been reftrained had till then impeded their fertility. The cultures would fpeedily and infallibly have been improved, by a well digefted plan of liberty. The crown chofe rather to fecure to the monopoly, to which they were fubjected, the exclufive right of fupplying the kingdom; and the fugars and tobaccos of Brazil were ftrictly prohibited there in 1664. The court of Lifbon, irritated, as they had reafon to be, with this inconfiderate prohibition, forbade, on their parts, the importation of French manufactures, the only ones, at that period, which were efteemed in Portugal. Genoa immediately feized upon the filk trade, and hath kept it ever fince; and England appropriated to itfelf the woollen trade, though with lefs uninterrupted fuccefs. The Portuguefe, inftructed

worth ten. In ten years time, the capital was paid by the intereſt, and ſtill remained due.

It engroſſed all the inland trade. There were Engliſh houſes ſettled at Liſbon, which received all the commodities of their own country, and diſtributed them to merchants, who diſpoſed of them in the provinces, moſtly for the benefit of their employers. A ſmall profit was the only reward of this induſtry, which is diſgraceful to a nation that worked at home for the uſe of another.

It carried off even the agency buſineſs. The fleets deſtined for the Brazils were the ſole property of the Engliſh. The riches they brought back belonged to them. They would not even ſuffer them to paſs through the hands of the Portugueſe, and only borrowed or purchaſed their name, becauſe they could not do without it. Theſe ſtrangers diſappeared as ſoon as they had acquired the fortune they intended, and left that nation impoveriſhed and exhauſted, at whoſe expence they had enriched themſelves. It is demonſtrable from the regiſters of the fleets, that in the ſpace of ſixty years, that is, from the diſcovery of the mines to the year 1756, 2,400,000,000 livres [100,000,000l.] worth of gold had been brought away from Brazil, and yet, in this latter period, all the ſpecie in Portugal amounted to no more than 15 or 20,000,000 [from 625,000l. to 833,333l. 6s. 8d.], and at that time the nation owed one hundred million [4,166,666l. 13s. 4d.], or more.

But what Liſbon was loſing, London gained. England, by her natural advantages, was only intended for a ſecondary power. Though the changes that had happened in the religion, government, and induſtry of the Engliſh, had improved their condition, increaſed their ſtrength, and unfolded their genius, they could not poſſibly act a capital part. They knew by experience that the means which, in ancient governments, could raiſe a nation to any height, when, without any connection with its neighbours, it emerged, as it were, ſingly out of nothing, were inſufficient in modern times, when the intercourſe of nations, making the ad-

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vantages of each common to all, left to numbers and ſtrength their natural ſuperiority. Since ſoldiers, generals, and nations, had hired themſelves to engage in war; ſince the power of gold had opened every cabinet, and made every treaty; England had learned that the greatneſs of a ſtate depended upon its riches, and that its political power was eſtimated in proportion to its millions. This truth, which muſt have alarmed the ambition of the Engliſh, became favourable to them, as ſoon as they had prevailed upon Portugal to depend upon them for neceſſaries, and bound them by treaties to an impoſſibility of procuring them from any other power. Thus was the kingdom made dependent on a falſe friend for food and raiment. Theſe were, to borrow the expreſſion of a certain politician, like two anchors which the Britons had faſtened upon that empire. They went further ſtill: they made the Portugueſe loſe all conſideration, all weight, all influence in the general ſyſtem of affairs, by perſuading them to have neither forces nor alliances. Truſt to us, ſaid the Engliſh, for your ſafety; we will negotiate and fight for you. Thus, without bloodſhed or labour, and without experiencing any of the evils that attend upon conqueſt, they made themſelves more effectually maſters of Portugal, than the Portugueſe were of the mines of Brazil.

All things are connected, both in nature and politics. It is ſcarce poſſible that a nation ſhould loſe its agriculture and its induſtry, without a viſible decay of the liberal arts, letters, ſciences, and all the ſound principles of policy and government. The kingdom of Portugal furniſhes a melancholy inſtance of this truth. As ſoon as Great Britain had condemned it to a ſtate of inaction, it is fallen into ſuch barbariſm as is ſcarce credible. The light which had ſhone all over Europe did not extend itſelf to the frontiers of Portugal. That kingdom was even obſerved to degenerate, and to attract the contempt of thoſe whoſe emulation and jealouſy it had before excited. The advantage of having tolerable laws, while all other ſtates were involved in

horrible confuſion; this ineſtimable advantage has been of no ſervice to the Portugueſe. They have loſt the turn of their genius, by forgetting the principles of reaſon, morality, and politics. The efforts they may make to emerge from this ſtate of degeneracy and infatuation might poſſibly prove ineffectual; becauſe good reformers are not eaſily to be found in that nation which ſtands moſt in need of them. Men who are qualified to cauſe revolutions in empires are generally prepared to it by previous circumſtances, and ſeldom ſtart up at once. They have generally had their forerunners, who have awakened the minds of the people, diſpoſed them to receive the light, and prepared the neceſſary means for bringing about great revolutions. As there is no appearance of any ſuch preparatory ſteps in Portugal, the nation muſt ſtill continue for a long time in this humiliating condition, unleſs it will adopt the principles followed, with ſo much ſucceſs, by the moſt enlightened ſtates.

Means which the court of Liſbon ought to employ to extricate the mother-country, and her colonies, from their languid ſtate.

The firſt ſtep towards its recovery, that firm and vigorous ſtep, without which all the reſt would be unſteady, uncertain, uſeleſs, and perhaps dangerous, would be to ſhake off the yoke of England. Portugal, in her preſent ſituation, cannot ſubſiſt without foreign commodities; therefore, it is her intereſt to promote the greateſt competition of ſellers ſhe poſſibly can, in order to reduce the price of what ſhe is obliged to buy. As it is no leſs the intereſt of the Portugueſe to diſpoſe of the overplus of their own produce and that of the colonies, they ought, for the ſame reaſon, to invite as many purchaſers as poſſible to their harbours, to enhance the price, and increaſe the quantity of their exports. Theſe political meaſures are certainly liable to no objection.

By the treaty of 1703, the Portugueſe are only obliged to permit the importation of woollen goods from England, on the terms ſtipulated before the prohibition. They might grant the ſame privilege to other nations, without incurring the reproach of having broken their engagement. A liberty granted to

one nation was never interpreted as an exclusive and perpetual privilege, that could deprive the prince who granted it of his right of extending it to other nations. He must necessarily be the judge of what suits his own kingdom. It is not easy to conceive what rational objection a British ministry could make to a king of Portugal who should tell them, I will encourage merchants to come to my dominions, who will feed and clothe my subjects as cheap and cheaper than you, merchants who will take the produce of my colonies, from whence you will receive nothing but gold.

We may judge of the effect this wise conduct would have, by the events that have taken place, independent of this spirited resolution. It appears from the registers of the customs, that in the space of five years, from 1762 to 1766 inclusively, England, which, till very lately, engrossed the whole trade of Portugal, hath only sent there goods to the value of 95,613,547 livres 10 sous [3,983,897l. 16s. 3d.], and hath received commodities to the amount of 37,761,075 livres [1,573,378l. 2s. 6d.]; so that the balance in money hath been but 57,692,475 livres [2,403,853l. 2s. 6d.].

The circumstance which deceives all Europe, with regard to the extent of the English trade, is, that all the gold of Brazil is conveyed by the road of the Thames. This seems to be a natural and necessary consequence of the affairs carried on by that nation. But the truth is, that metals are not allowed to go out of Portugal, and, therefore, can only be brought away by men of war, which are not liable to be searched; that Great Britain sends two every week, as regularly as the sea will permit; and that these ships bring the riches of all nations into their island, from whence the merchants, dispersed in the several countries, receive them, either in kind, or in bills of exchange, paying one *per cent.*

The British ministry, who are not the dupes of these dazzling appearances, and are but too sensible of the diminution of this most valuable branch of their trade, have, for some time past, taken incredible pains to re-

ſtore it to its former ſtate. Their endeavours will never ſucceed, becauſe this is one of thoſe events which are not within the reach of political wiſdom. If the evil aroſe from favours granted to rival nations, or if England had been debarred from her former privileges, ſome well-conducted negotiations might occaſion a new revolution. But the court of Liſbon hath never varied its conduct neither with Great Britain nor with other ſtates. Her ſubjects have had no other inducement to give the preference to the merchandiſe brought them from all parts of Europe, than becauſe thoſe of their former friends were ſo loaded with taxes, that they bore an exorbitant price. The Portugueſe will procure many articles at a ſtill more reaſonable rate, whenever their government ſhall eſtabliſh a perfect equality in their ports between all nations.

The court of Liſbon, after removing, in ſome meaſure, the diſadvantages of their trade, which is merely paſſive, ſhould endeavour to make it active. Their miniſters, in conformity with the prevailing taſte of the age, have already eſtabliſhed ſome manufactures of ſilk, of cotton, and of ſteel. We think that they ought to have begun by reſuming the cultures that have been dropped, and by reanimating thoſe that are languid.

The climate of Portugal is favourable to the production of ſilk, of which there was formerly great plenty. The baptized Jews made it their buſineſs to breed worms, and to prepare the ſilk, till they were perſecuted by the inquiſition, which was ſtill more ſevere and more powerful under the houſe of Braganza, than it had ever been under the Spaniſh dominion. Moſt of the manufacturers fled to the kingdom of Valencia; and thoſe who ſold the produce of their labours removed, with their effects, to England and Holland, which improved the activity of both thoſe countries. This diſperſion was the ruin of the ſilk trade in Portugal, ſo that no trace of it remains at preſent; but it might be reſumed.

The next cultivation that ought to be attended to,

is that of the olive tree. It is now carried on, and conftantly fupplies all the oil that is wanted for home confumption, befide a fmall quantity every year for exportation; but this is not fufficient. It would be an eafy matter for Portugal to fhare, in a more direct manner, with other nations, the profits they derive from this production, which is wholly confined to the fouthern provinces of Europe.

Their wool is likewife capable of improvement. Though it be inferior to that of Spain, the French, the Dutch, and even the Englifh, buy up twelve or thirteen thoufand quintals of it every year, and would purchafe a greater quantity, if it were brought to market. Thofe who have travelled through Portugal, with that fpirit of obfervation which enables men to form a right judgment of things, are of opinion that double the quantity might be obtained, without injuring the other branches of induftry; and that, on the contrary, it might tend to their improvement.

The trade of falt feems to have been more clofely attended to. The North annually takes off a hundred and fifty thoufand tons, which may coft 1,500,000 livres [62,500l.]. It is corrofive, and takes off from the weight and flavour of our food; but hath the advantage of preferving fifh and meat longer than French falt. This property will occafion a greater demand for it, in proportion as the navigation of the country is extended.

The Portuguefe found a greater vent for their wines than might have been expected from their flavour and quality. Particular circumftances had rendered them moft commonly ufed in the North of Europe and of America. It was impoffible to forefee, that the court of Lifbon itfelf would put a ftop to the fale of them. The order for rooting up the vines in Portugal could only be dictated by private intereft. The pretence for fo extraordinary a law is fo abfurd, that no one has given credit to it. It is very well known, that the ground where the vines have ftood can never be fit for the culture of corn.

But if this were ever ſo practicable, it would ſtill be an unwarrantable infringement of the ſacred and unalienable right of property. In a monaſtery, every thing belongs to all: nothing is the property of any individual, but the joint property of the whole community: it is one ſingle animal with twenty, thirty, forty, a thouſand, or ten thouſand heads. But it is not the ſame in ſociety. Here every individual hath the diſpoſal of himſelf and of his property: he poſſeſſes a ſhare of the general wealth, which he is abſolute maſter of, and may uſe, or even abuſe, as he thinks proper. A private man muſt be at liberty to let his ground lie fallow, if he chooſes it, without the intervention of adminiſtration. If government ſhould aſſume a right to judge of the abuſe of property, it would ſoon take upon itſelf to judge of the uſe of it; and then every true idea of liberty and property will be deſtroyed. If it can require me to employ my own property according to its fancy; if it ſhould inflict puniſhments on my diſobedience, my negligence, or my folly, and that, under pretence of general and public utility, I am no longer abſolute maſter of my own, I am only an adminiſtrator, who is to be directed by the will of another. The man who lives in ſociety muſt, in this reſpect, be left at liberty to be a bad citizen, becauſe he will ſoon be ſeverely puniſhed by poverty, and by contempt, which is worſe than poverty. He who burns his own corn, or throws his money away, is a fool too rarely to be met with, to make it neceſſary to bind him by prohibitive laws, which would be injurious in themſelves, by their infringement of the univerſal and ſacred idea of property. In every well-regulated conſtitution, the buſineſs of the magiſtrate muſt be confined to what concerns the public ſafety, inward tranquillity, the conduct of the army, and the obſervance of the laws. Wherever authority is extended beyond this, we may affirm that the people are expoſed to oppreſſion. If we take a ſurvey of all ages and nations, that great and ſublime idea of public utility will preſent itſelf to our imagination under the ſym-

BOOK IX. bolical figure of a Hercules, crushing one part of the people with his club, amidst the shouts and acclamations of the other part, who are not sensible that they are soon to fall under the same strokes.

To return to Portugal: that country stands in need of other measures than have hitherto been pursued, to restore the culture of corn; it is in so languid a state, that the Portuguese annually import three-fourths of the corn they consume. They never, perhaps, will be able to gather their whole subsistence from a soil which is not sufficiently well watered: but it behoves them to lessen, as much as they possibly can, their dependence upon foreign succours. The population is sufficient to carry on the labours with spirit, since, by allowing four persons and a half to each fire-side, it amounts to one million nine hundred and sixty thousand souls, exclusive of the monks.

The court of Lisbon would lie under a fatal mistake, if they should imagine that time alone will bring about so great a revolution. It behoves them to pave the way for it, by a complete reformation of the taxes, which have never been well regulated since the foundation of the monarchy, and the confusion of which increases every year. When the impediments are removed, every kind of encouragement must be given. One of the most fatal prejudices, and most destructive of the happiness of men and the prosperity of nations, is that which supposes that men only are wanting for the purposes of agriculture. The experience of all ages hath shown, that much cannot be required of the earth, till much hath been bestowed upon it. There are, in all Portugal, very few farmers who are able to advance the necessary sums. Government should, therefore, assist them. A revenue of 46,884,531 livres [1,953,523l. 2s. 6d.], properly dispensed, would facilitate this liberality, which is frequently more economical than the most sordid avarice.

This first change will be productive of others. The arts necessary to agriculture will infallibly rise and grow up with it. Industry will extend its several

branches, and Portugal will no longer exhibit an inſtance of a ſavage people in the midſt of civilized nations. The citizen will no longer be forced to devote himſelf to celibacy, or to leave his country in ſearch of employment. Commodious houſes will be erected upon ruins; and manufactures ſupply the place of convents. The ſubjects of this almoſt ruined ſtate, which now reſemble thoſe ſcattered and ſolitary ſhrubs that are found upon the ſoil of the richeſt mines, will no longer be reduced to thoſe neceſſities they now experience, notwithſtanding their mountains and rivers of gold. The wealth of the ſtate will be kept in conſtant circulation, and will no longer be buried in the churches. Superſtition will be baniſhed, together with ignorance, deſpair, and indolence. Thoſe who have no other object in view, but to commit exceſſes, and expiate them, who are fond of miracles and magic arts, will then be inflamed with public ſpirit. The nation, freed from its fetters, and reſtored to its natural activity, will exert itſelf with a ſpirit worthy of its former exploits.

Portugal will recollect, that ſhe was indebted to her navy for her opulence, her glory, and her ſtrength, and will attend to the means of reſtoring it. It will no longer be reduced to ſeventeen men of war, to twenty-five warlike ſhips of ſmaller rates, and about a hundred merchantmen, from ſix to eight hundred tons burden, which are ſtill in a more ruinous ſtate. Her population, reduced to one million nine hundred and ſixty thouſand ſouls, will increaſe and fill her harbours and roads with active fleets. The revival of her navy will be doubtleſs difficult for a power, whoſe flag is not known on any of the European ſeas, and which, for a century paſt, has given up her navigation to any power that would attend to it; but every obſtacle will be ſurmounted by a wiſe and prudent government. When once it carries on all the navigation that ſhould belong to it, conſiderable ſums will be retained in the kingdom, which are now conſtantly expended for freight.

This change will extend its influence to the iflands that are dependent on the crown. Madeira, the annual exports of which amount to 4,658,800 livres [194,116l. 13s. 4d.], will extend its labour, its profperity, and its riches. The Azores will be ftill more improved. We know that this Archipelago, confifting of nine iflands, of which Tercera is the principal, hath no more than one hundred and forty-two thoufand inhabitants; and fells at prefent, to the mother-country, to Brazil, and to North America, its wines, its linens, its corn, and its cattle, to the amount only of 2,440,000 livres [101,666l. 13s. 4d.]. Even the Cape de Verde iflands, notwithftanding the frequent droughts they experience, will be able to multiply their mules, and more efpecially to cultivate the perella, that fpecies of grafs of the colour of mofs, which the North of Europe employs with fo much advantage in dyeing. The government will not confine themfelves to the encouragement in their poffeffions, of the cultures only that are known there; they will take care to introduce new ones, which the fertility of the foil, and the temperature and variety of the climate, feem inceffantly to require.

Thefe new improvements will be principally felt in Brazil, that great colony, which hath never been what it ought.

Before the year 1525, it received only fome banifhed perfons, without either morals or fortune.

The grandees, who at this period obtained provinces there, made it a fcene of carnage and deftruction. For the fpace of fixty years, there was a continual ftruggle between the Portuguefe, who wifhed to enflave all; and the Indians, who refufed to bear the chains that were intended for them, or who broke them after they had been obliged to fubmit to them.

Even the labours of a few Brazilians, who were kept under the yoke by a watchful exertion of tyranny, were inconfiderable. Thofe of the Europeans were nothing, becaufe they would have thought themfelves degraded by flavifh occupations. The only fuc-

cefs that could be expected was from the Negroes; but they did not begin to multiply there till towards the year 1570.

Ten years after this, Portugal was enflaved; and we may readily fuppofe that the Spanifh government, which fuffered its own ancient poffeffions in the other hemifphere to fall into confufion, did not exert itfelf in improving the colonies of a nation, which, though fubdued, ftill excited its fufpicions.

The long and bloody wars which Brazil had to fuftain againft the Dutch retarded its progrefs in every particular.

This was alfo again impeded, by the revolution which freed Portugal from the yoke of Spain, while it kept the two nations in arms during eighteen years.

While thefe contefts were fubfifting, the European nations that had formed fettlements in America began to cultivate there productions, which till that time had been peculiar to Brazil. This competition lowered the price of them; and the colony, difcouraged, did not export more than half of what they previoufly fold. So great a misfortune warned the miniftry of the neceffity of freeing thefe commodities from the taxes with which they were laden at their entrance into the mother-country. The difcovery of the mines occafioned thefe objects to be neglected, which, from that time, appeared to be lefs important than they really were.

Gold and diamonds, which are articles of value merely by convention, were themfelves prejudicial to cultures, which they might have encouraged. The hopes of making a brilliant fortune, by collecting thefe fugitive and precarious riches, determined a great number of proprietors to abandon their plantations.

This fatal illufion began to be diffipated, when the fyftem of monopolies put a ftop to the inclination generally fhown, of refuming a plan which was more fafe, and even more lucrative, than that which had at firft fo much inflamed the imaginations of men.

The laft difputes with Spain were, in a word, a new

BOOK IX. fource of defolation to the colony. The inhabitants were compelled by violence to quit their labours; loans were extorted from them without intereft, for which they have not yet been reimburfed; they were expofed to the utmoft outrages of the moft barbarous defpotifm.

At prefent, that thefe obftacles to every kind of good are moft of them removed, the riches which Brazil offers in vain, for three centuries paft, are no longer to be rejected. The climate is wholefome in that part of the New World; the harbours are numerous; and the coafts, which are of eafy accefs, are generally fertile. The inland part of the country, which is ftill more fruitful, and interfected by a great number of navigable rivers, may be cultivated for the wants or for the luxuries of Europe. All the productions peculiar to America thrive there, notwithftanding the havock made by the ants, and without apprehenfion of feeing them deftroyed by thofe terrible hurricanes and by thofe devouring droughts which fo frequently lay wafte the beft iflands of this hemifphere. It gives encouragement to labour, from the plenty of provifions, of cattle, and of flaves: nothing is wanting to make it one of the fineft eftablifhments upon the face of the globe.

It will become fo, when it fhall be freed from that number of impofts, and from that multitude of contractors which keep it in a ftate of humiliation and oppreffion, when its activity fhall no longer be reftrained by numberlefs monopolies; when the price of the merchandife conveyed to it fhall not be doubled by the taxes impofed upon them; when its productions fhall pay no more duties, or fhall only pay fuch as are not more confiderable than thofe of its competitors; when its intercourfe with the other national poffeffions fhall have been difencumbered from the fhackles which confine it; when the Eaft Indies fhall be laid open to it, and when it fhall be permitted to draw from its own produce the money required to carry on this new connection.

The colony hath hands sufficient to multiply and to extend these labours. At the time of our writing, it reckons one hundred seventy-six thousand and twenty-eight white men; three hundred forty-seven thousand eight hundred and fifty-eight slaves; two hundred seventy-eight thousand three hundred and forty-nine Indians: which together forms a population of eight hundred and two thousand two hundred and thirty-five persons. The number of savages, still wandering about in the Brazils, is computed at two hundred thousand. Perhaps it might not be impossible to induce them to acknowledge the authority of the court of Lisbon; but this would not be attended with much advantage, unless directors, more enlightened than their predecessors, should contrive methods that have escaped the reflection of men for three centuries past.

A more certain method of increasing the mass of productions, would be to admit into the Brazils all foreigners who would undertake the cultivation of them; an infinite number of Americans, English, French, or Dutch, whose plantations are exhausted; and many Europeans prompted by the ardent desire, at present grown so common, of making a rapid fortune, would convey their activity, their industry, and their capitals into the country. These enterprising men would introduce a better spirit into the colony, and would infuse into the degenerate race of the Portuguese Creoles, that kind of animation which they have lost for so long a time.

This order of things might be established without prejudice to any other interest. Two thirds of the borders of the great rivers are cultivated. These virgin lands belong to the crown, whose system it hath always been to grant gratuitously one league of territory, under the express condition of cultivating it in a given time. By distributing these domains to their new subjects, they would not spoil their old ones, and they would increase their cultures, as well as the number of their defenders.

But in order to accelerate the advantages of this

BOOK IX. new plan, it would be neceſſary to efface even the ſlighteſt veſtige of the inquiſition, that horrible tribunal, the very name of which makes all people ſhudder who have not entirely given up their reaſon. This would even be a matter of little importance, if at the ſame time the influence of the clergy were not alſo diminiſhed in the public deliberations and in the affairs of individuals.

Some ſtates have been known to favour the corruption of prieſts, in order to weaken the aſcendant that ſuperſtition gives them over the minds of the people. That this method is not always infallible, appears from what has happened in the Brazils, nor is this execrable policy reconcileable with the principles of morality. It would be more ſecure and more eligible to open the doors of the ſanctuary to all the citizens without diſtinction. Philip II. when he became maſter of Portugal, enacted, that they ſhould be ſhut againſt all ſuch whoſe blood was tainted with any mixture with Jews, Heretics, or Negroes. This diſtinction hath given a dangerous ſuperiority to a ſet of men who were already too powerful. It hath been aboliſhed in the African ſettlements; and why ſhould it be continued in America? Why, after taking from the clergy the authority they derived from their birth, ſhould they not be abridged of the power they aſſume on account of their riches?

Some politicians have aſſerted, that no government ought ever to appoint a fixed income for the clergy, but that their ſpiritual ſervices ſhould be paid by thoſe who have recourſe to them. That this method would excite their zeal and vigilance. That they would grow daily more expert in the care of ſouls by experience, ſtudy, and application. Theſe ſtateſmen have been oppoſed by philoſophers, who maintained that an economy which would tend to increaſe the activity of the clergy, would be fatal to public tranquillity; and that it was better to lull that ambitious body into idleneſs, than to give it new ſtrength. It is obſerved, ſay they, that churches and religious houſes, which have no

ſettled income, are ſo many repoſitories of ſuperſtition, maintained at the expence of the lower claſs of people, where ſaints, miracles, relics, and all the inventions with which impoſture hath loaded religion, are made. So that it would be a benefit to ſociety, if the clergy had a ſtated proviſion; but ſo moderate, as to reſtrain the ambition of the body and the number of its members. Poverty makes them fanatical; opulence independent; and both concur to render them ſeditious.

Such at leaſt was the opinion of a philoſopher, who ſaid to a great monarch: There is a powerful body in your dominions, which hath aſſumed a power of ſuſpending the labour of your ſubjects, whenever it thinks proper to call them into its temples. This body is authoriſed to ſpeak to them a hundred times a-year, and to ſpeak in the name of God. It tells them that the moſt powerful ſovereign is no more in the ſight of the Supreme Being than the meaneſt ſlave; and that, as it is inſpired by the Creator of all things, it is to be believed in preference to the maſters of the world. The effects of ſuch a ſyſtem threaten the total ſubverſion of ſociety, unleſs the miniſters of religion are made dependent on the magiſtrate; and they will never be effectually ſo, unleſs they derive their ſubſiſtence from him. This is the only way to eſtabliſh a harmony between the oracles of heaven and the maxims of government. It is the buſineſs of a prudent adminiſtration to bring, without diſturbances or commotions, the clergy to that ſtate in which they will be able to do good, without having it in their power to do miſchief.

Till the court of Liſbon hath attained this ſalutary end, all projects of reformation will be ineffectual. The defects of eccleſiaſtical government will ſtill ſubſiſt, notwithſtanding all endeavours to reform them. The clergy muſt be brought to depend upon the magiſtrate, before the Portugueſe who live in Brazil can venture to oppoſe their tyranny. Perhaps even the prejudices theſe inhabitants have imbibed from a faulty and monaſtic education, may be too deeply rooted in their minds, to be ever eradicated. Theſe enlightened views

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ſeem to be reſerved for the next generation. This revolution might be haſtened, by obliging the chief proprietors to ſend their children to Europe for education, and by reforming the plan of public education in Portugal.

All ideas are eaſily impreſſed upon tender organs. The ſoul, without experience as without reflection, readily admits truth and falſehood in matters of opinion, and equally adopts what is either conducive or prejudicial to the public welfare. Young people may be taught to value or depreciate their own reaſon; to make uſe of it, or to neglect it; to conſider it as their beſt guide, or to miſtruſt its powers. Fathers obſtinately defend the abſurdities they were taught in their infancy; their children will be as fond of the leading principles in which they have been trained. They will bring back into Brazil notions of religion, morality, adminiſtration, commerce, and agriculture. The mother-country will confer places of truſt on them alone. They will then exert the talents they have acquired, and the face of the colony will be totally changed. Writers who ſpeak of it, will no longer lament the idleneſs, the ignorance, the blunders, the ſuperſtitions which have been the ground-work of its adminiſtration. The hiſtory of this colony will no longer be a ſatire upon it.

Whether the court of Liſbon ought to put a ſtop to their projects of reformation from the apprehenſion of a rupture with England.

The fear of incenſing Great Britain muſt not protract theſe happy alterations one ſingle moment. The motives which, perhaps, have prevented them hitherto, are but prejudices, which will be removed upon the ſlighteſt examination. There are numberleſs political errors, which, once adopted, become principles. Such is the prevailing notion at the court of Liſbon, that the ſtate cannot exiſt or proſper but by means of the Engliſh. It is forgotten that the Portugueſe monarchy was formed without the help of other nations; that during the whole time of their conteſts with the Moors, they were ſupported by no foreign power; that their greatneſs had been increaſing for three centuries ſucceſſively, when they extended their dominion over

Africa and the Eaſt and Weſt Indies by their own ſtrength. All theſe great revolutions were performed by the Portugueſe alone. Was it neceſſary then that this nation ſhould diſcover a great treaſure, and be a proprietor of rich mines, merely to ſuggeſt the idea of its being unable to ſupport itſelf? Are the Portugueſe to be compared to thoſe fooliſh individuals, whoſe heads are turned by the embarraſſment which their newly-acquired riches occaſion?

No nation ought to ſubmit to be protected. If the people are wiſe, they will have forces relative to their ſituation, and will never have more enemies than they are able to withſtand. Unleſs their ambition be unbounded, they have allies, who, for their own ſakes, will warmly and faithfully ſupport their intereſt. This general truth is peculiarly applicable to thoſe ſtates that are poſſeſſed of mines. It is the intereſt of all other nations to be in amity with them; and, if there be occaſion for it, they will all unite for their preſervation. Let Portugal but hold the balance even between all the powers of Europe, and they will form an impenetrable barrier around her. England herſelf, though deprived of the preference ſhe hath too long enjoyed, will ſtill ſupport a nation whoſe independence is eſſential to the balance of power in Europe. All nations would quickly join in one common cauſe, if Spain ſhould ever be ſo mad for conqueſt, as to attempt any thing againſt Portugal. Never would the jealous, reſtleſs, and quick-ſighted policy of our age, ſuffer all the treaſures of the New World to be in the ſame hands, or that one houſe ſhould be ſo powerful in America, as to threaten the liberties of Europe.

This ſecurity, however, ſhould not induce the court of Liſbon to neglect the means of their own preſervation, as they did when they truſted to the Britiſh arms for their defence, or indolently reſted on the ſupineneſs of their neighbours; when deſtitute of land or ſea forces, they were accounted as nothing in the political ſyſtem, which is the greateſt diſgrace that can befal a nation. If the Portugueſe will regain the con-

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sequence they have lost, they must put themselves in such a state, as not to be afraid of war, and even to declare it themselves, if their rights or their safety should require it. It is not always an advantage to a nation to continue in peace, when all the rest are in arms. In the political as in the natural world, a great event will have very extensive effects. The rise or fall of one empire will affect all the rest. Even those which are furthest removed from the seat of war, are sometimes the victims of their moderation or of their weakness. These maxims are directly applicable to Portugal, particularly at this juncture, when the example of her neighbours, the critical situation of her haughty allies, the solicitations of the powers who are jealous of her friendship; in short, every thing calls upon her to rouse, and to exert herself.

If the Portuguese will not at length frequent the seas, where alone they can distinguish themselves, and from whence they must derive their prosperity; if they do not appear with a powerful force at the extremity of Europe, where nature hath so happily placed them; their fate is decided, the monarchy is at an end. They will fall again into the chains they had shaken off for a moment, as a lion that should drop asleep at the door of his den, after he had broken it open. The little circulation there is still within, would but indicate those feeble signs of life, which are the symptoms of approaching death. The few trifling regulations they might make from time to time, respecting the finances, the police, commerce, and the navy, whether at home or for the colonies, would be but weak palliatives, which, by concealing their situation, would make it only the more dangerous.

Is it reasonably to be expected that Portugal will improve its state and that of its colonies?

It cannot be denied that Portugal hath suffered the most favourable opportunity that could have offered of resuming her former splendour to escape. They are not politics alone that prepare revolutions. Some destructive phenomenon may change the face of an empire. The earthquake of the first of November 1755, which overthrew the capital of Portugal, ought to have

reftored the kingdom. The deftruction of a proud city is often the prefervation of a whole ftate, as the opulence of one man may be the ruin of thoufands. Stately edifices might be fubverted; effects, moftly belonging to foreigners, might be deftroyed; idle, debauched, and corrupt men, might be buried under heaps of ruins, without affecting the public welfare. The earth, in a tranfient fit of rage, had only taken what fhe was able to reftore; and the gulfs fhe opened under one city, were already digged for the foundations of another.

But we cannot flatter ourfelves with the hopes of future improvements, while we do not fee a better order of things, a new ftate, and a new people, a better management rifing out of the ruins of Lifbon. The nation that is not improved by a great cataftrophe is ruined without refource, or the period of its reftoration is referved for fuch diftant ages, that it is probable it will fooner be annihilated than it can be regenerated. May Heaven preferve Portugal from this fatal event! May it remove from my mind the prefage which cannot be impreffed upon it without plunging me into the deepeft affliction! But at this inftant I cannot conceal from myfelf, that as much as the great fhocks of nature give energy to enlightened minds, fo much do they deprefs thofe that are vitiated by the habit of ignorance and fuperftition. Government, which every where takes advantage of the credulity of the people, and which nothing can divert from the fettled purpofe of extending the boundaries of authority, became more encroaching at the very inftant that the nation grew more timorous. Men of bold fpirits oppreffed thofe that were weak; and the epocha of that great phenomenon turned out to be the epocha of accumulated flavery; a melancholy but common effect of the cataftrophes of nature. They ufually make men a prey to the artifices of thofe who are ambitious of ruling over them. Then it is that they take large ftrides, by repeated acts of arbitrary-power; whether it be that thofe who govern do really believe that

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the people were born to obey, or whether they think, that, by extending their own power, they increase the strength of the public. Those false politicians are not aware, that, with such principles, a state is like an over strained spring, which will break at last, and recoil against the hand that bends it. The present situation of the continent of South America but too plainly evinces the justness of this comparison. Let us now proceed to show the effects of a different conduct in the American islands.

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Settlement of the European nations in the great Archipelago of America.

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Considerations upon the conduct of all the European nations in the New World.

HITHERTO we have been only proceeding from one scene of horror to another, in following the steps of the Spaniards and of the Portuguese. Let us now see whether the English, French, Hollanders, and Danes, whom we are going to accompany into the islands, have shown themselves less savage than those who took possession of the continent. Will the inhabitants of these limited spaces be exposed to the deplorable destiny of the Peruvians, of the Mexicans, and of the Brazilians? Is it possible that civilized men, who have all lived in their country under forms of government, if not wise, at least ancient; who have all been bred up in places where they were instructed with the lessons, and sometimes with the example of virtue; who were all brought up in the midst of polished cities, in which a rigid exercise of justice must have accustomed them to respect their fellow-creatures; is it possible that all such men, without exception, should pursue a line of conduct equally contrary to the principles of humanity, to their interest, to their safety, and to the first dawnings of reason; and that they should continue to become more barbarous than the savage? Shall I for ever be reduced to the neces-

ſity of preſenting none but horrid images? Good God! For what an office was I deſtined? This change of character, in the European who quits his country, is a phenomenon of ſo extraordinary a nature, the imagination is ſo deeply affected with it, that, while it attends to it with aſtoniſhment, reflection tortures itſelf in endeavouring to find out the principle of it, whether it exiſt in human nature in general, or in the peculiar character of the navigators, or in the circumſtances preceding or poſterior to the event.

It is a queſtion which naturally occurs, Whether a man who is freed, by whatſoever cauſe, from the reſtraint of the laws, be not more wicked than the man who hath never felt this reſtraint? Perſons who are ſufficiently diſſatisfied with their lot, ſufficiently deprived of reſources in their own country, ſufficiently poor, or ſufficiently ambitious to entertain a contempt for life, and to expoſe themſelves to infinite dangers and labours, upon the precarious hope of making a rapid fortune, do they not carry about with them the fatal ſeeds of a ſpirit of depredation, which muſt unavoidably have manifeſted itſelf with inconceivable rapidity and violence when they came into another climate, far from the effects of public reſentment, and when they were no longer awed by the preſence of their fellow-citizens, or reſtrained by ſhame or fear? Doth not the hiſtory of all ſocieties prove to us, that thoſe men on whom nature hath beſtowed an extraordinary degree of energy, are moſt commonly villains? The danger of a long ſtay, and the neceſſity of a ſpeedy return, added to the deſire of juſtifying the expences incurred in the enterpriſe, by a diſplay of the riches of the lately diſcovered countries, muſt neceſſarily have occaſioned and accelerated the violent ſteps taken to acquire the poſſeſſion of them. Did not the chiefs of the enterpriſe, and their companions, terrified by the dangers they had undergone, by thoſe which they were ſtill to undergo, and by the miſeries they had ſuffered, did they not determine to make themſelves amends for their ſufferings, like men who were reſolv-

ed not to expofe themfelves to them a fecond time? Did the idea of forming a colony in thofe diftant regions, and of increafing the dominions of their fovereign with them, ever prefent itfelf diftinctly to the minds of thefe firft adventurers; and did not the New World rather appear to them as a rich prey that was to be devoured, than as a conqueft which they ought to protect? Was not the mifchief begun by thefe atrocious motives, perpetuated, fometimes by the indifference of minifters, and fometimes by the divifions between the European nations; and was it not arrived to the utmoft pitch, when times of tranquillity infpired our governments with more rational principles? Had the firft deputies, to whom the authority and infpection of thofe countries had been intrufted, or could they have the knowledge and the virtue requifite to make themfelves beloved by the natives, to conciliate their refpect and confidence, and to eftablifh a fyftem of police and laws among them? Did they not, on the contrary, carry along with them, to thofe diftant regions, the fame thirft of gold which had laid them wafte? Could it be expected, that, at the origin of thefe fettlements, a plan of adminiftration could be formed, which the experience of feveral centuries hath not been capable of eftablifhing? Is it poffible, even in our days, to rule nations which are feparated by immenfe feas from the mother-country, in the fame manner as fubjects who are fituated immediately under the eye of the fovereign? Since diftant pofts are never folicited and filled, unlefs by indigent, rapacious men, without talents or morals, ftrangers to all fentiment of honour, and to every idea of equity, the refufe of the higher ranks of the ftate, muft we not confider the fplendour of the colonies, in after-times, as a chimerical notion; and will not the future happinefs of thefe regions be a phenomenon ftill more furprifing than their firft devaftation was?

Accurfed, therefore, be the moment of their difcovery! And you, European fovereigns, what motive can excite your jealous ambition for poffeffions, the

misery of which you can only perpetuate? And why do ye not restore them to themselves, if ye despair of making them happy? I have, more than once, ventured, in the course of this work, to point out to you the means of accomplishing this: but I am much afraid that my voice hath only exclaimed, and will only exclaim in the desert.

America contains, between the eighth and the thirty-second degree of northern latitude, the most numerous, extensive, and rich Archipelago, the ocean hath yet displayed to the curiosity, the industry, and avidity of the Europeans. The islands that compose it are known, since the discovery of the New World, by the name of the Caribbees. Those that lie nearest the east have been called the Windward Islands, the others the Leeward, on account of the wind's blowing generally from the eastern point in those quarters. They form a continued chain, one end of which seems to be attached to the continent near the Gulf of Maracaybo, the other to close the entrance of the Gulf of Mexico. They may, perhaps, with some degree of reason, be considered as the tops of very high mountains formerly belonging to the continent, and which have been changed into islands, by some revolution that hath laid all the flat country under water.

All the islands of the world seem to have been detached from the continent by subterraneous fires or earthquakes.

Is it probable that the American islands have been detached from the neighbouring continent?

The celebrated Atlantica, the very name of which hath been buried in oblivion some thousand years ago, was a large tract of land situated between Africa and America. Several circumstances render it probable that England was formerly a part of France; and Sicily hath evidently been detached from Italy. The Cape de Verde islands, the Azores, Madeira, and the Canaries, must have been part of the neighbouring continents, or of others that have been destroyed. The late observations of English navigators leave us scarce any room to doubt that all the islands of the South Sea formerly composed one entire continent.

New Zealand, the largeſt of them, is full of mountains, on which may be perceived the marks of extinguiſhed volcanos. Its inhabitants are neither beardleſs nor copper-coloured, as thoſe of America; and, though they be ſeparated ſix hundred and eighty leagues from each other, they ſpeak the ſame language as the natives of the iſland of Otaheite, diſcovered a few years ago.

Indiſputable monuments evince that ſuch changes have happened, of which the attentive naturaliſt every where perceives ſome traces ſtill remaining. Shells of every kind, corals, beds of oyſters, ſea-fiſh, entire or broken, regularly heaped up in every quarter of the globe, in places the moſt diſtant from the ſea, in the bowels and on the ſurfaces of mountains; the variableneſs of the continent, ſubject to all the changes of the ocean, by which it is conſtantly beaten, worn away, or ſubverted: while at a diſtance, perhaps, on one ſide it loſes immenſe tracts of land; on the other diſcovers to us new countries, and long banks of ſand heaped up before thoſe cities that formerly were celebrated ſea-ports: the horizontal and parallel poſition of the ſtrata of the earth, and of marine productions collected and heaped up alternately in the ſame order, compoſed of the ſame materials, that are regularly cemented by the conſtant and ſucceſſive exertion of the ſame cauſe: the correſpondent ſimilarity obſervable between ſuch coaſts as are ſeparated by an arm of the ſea; on one ſide of which may be perceived ſalient angles oppoſite to re-entering angles on the other; on the right hand, beds of the ſame kind of ſand, or ſimilar petrifactions, diſpoſed on a level with ſimilar ſtrata extending to the left: the direction of mountains and rivers towards the ſea as to their common origin: the formation of hills and valleys, on which this immenſe body of fluid hath, as it were, ſtamped indelible marks of its undulations: all theſe ſeveral circumſtances atteſt, that the ocean hath broken its natural limits, or, perhaps, that its limits have never been inſurmountable; and that varying the ſurface of the globe, ac-

cording to the irregularity of its own motions, it hath alternately taken the earth from its inhabitants, and reſtored it to them again. Hence thoſe ſucceſſive, though never univerſal, deluges that have covered the face of the earth, but not rendered it totally inviſible to us at once; for the waters, acting at the ſame time in the cavities and on the ſurface of the globe, cannot poſſibly increaſe the depth of their beds, without diminiſhing their breadth; or overflow on one ſide, without leaving dry land on the other; nor can we conceive any alteration in the whole ſyſtem that can poſſibly have made all the mountains diſappear at once, and occaſioned the ſea to riſe above their ſummits. What a ſudden transformation muſt have forced all the rocks and every ſolid particle of matter to the centre of the earth, to draw out of its inmoſt receſſes and channels all thoſe fluids which animate it; and thus blending its ſeveral elements together, produce a maſs of waters and uſeleſs germina floating in the air? Is it not enough that each hemiſphere alternately becomes a prey to the devaſtations of the ocean? Such conſtant ſhocks as theſe have doubtleſs ſo long concealed from us the New World, and, perhaps, ſwallowed up that continent, which, as it is imagined, had been only ſeparated from our own.

Whatever may be the ſecret cauſes of theſe particular revolutions, the general cauſe of which reſults from the known and univerſal laws of motion, their effects, however, will be always ſenſible to every man, who hath the reſolution and ſagacity to perceive them. They will be more particularly evident in regard to the Caribbee Iſlands, if it can ever be proved that they undergo violent ſhocks whenever the volcanos of the Cordeleras throw out their contents, or when all Peru is ſhaken. This Archipelago, as well as that of the Eaſt Indies, ſituated nearly in the ſame degree of latitude, ſeems to be produced by the ſame cauſe; namely, the motion of the ſea from eaſt to weſt: a motion impreſſed by that which cauſes the earth's revolution from weſt to eaſt; more rapid at the equator, where

BOOK X. the globe of the earth, being more elevated, revolves in a larger circle, and in a more agitated zone; where the ocean feems, as it were, willing to break through all the boundaries nature oppofes to it, and, opening to itfelf a free and uninterrupted courfe, forms the equinoctial line.

The direction of the Caribbee Iflands, beginning from Tobago, is nearly North and N. N. W. This direction is continued from one ifland to another, forming a line fomewhat curved towards the north-weft, and ending at Antigua. In this place the line becomes at once curved, and, extending itfelf in a ftraight direction to the W. and N. W. meets, in its courfe, with Porto-Rico, St. Domingo, and Cuba, known by the name of the Leeward Iflands, which are feparated from each other by channels of various breadths. Some of thefe are fix, others fifteen or twenty leagues broad; but the foundings, in all of them, are from a hundred to a hundred and twenty or a hundred and fifty fathom. Between Grenada and St. Vincent's, there is alfo a fmall Archipelago of thirty leagues, in which fometimes the foundings are not ten fathom.

The mountains in the Caribbee Iflands run in the fame direction as the iflands themfelves. This direction is fo regular, that if we were to confider the tops of thefe mountains only, independent of their bafis, they might be looked upon as a chain of hills belonging to the continent, of which Martinico would be the moft north-wefterly promontory.

The fprings of water which flow from the mountains in the Windward iflands run all in the weftern part of thefe iflands. The whole eaftern coaft, that which, according to our conjectures, hath always been covered by the fea, is without any running water. No fprings come down there from the mountains; they would, indeed, have been ufelefs, for, after having run over a very fhort tract of land, and with great rapidity, they would have fallen into the fea.

In Porto-Rico, St. Domingo, and Cuba, there are a few rivers which difcharge themfelves into the fea on

the northern ſide, and the ſources of which riſe in the mountains, running from eaſt to weſt, that is, through the whole length of theſe iſlands. Theſe rivers water a conſiderable extent of low country, which hath certainly never been covered by the ſea. From the other ſide of the mountains facing the ſouth, where the ſea, flowing with great impetuoſity, leaves behind it marks of its inundations, ſeveral rivers flow into theſe three iſlands, ſome of which are conſiderable enough to receive the largeſt ſhips.

Theſe obſervations, which ſeem to prove that the ſea hath ſeparated the Caribbee Iſlands from the continent, are further confirmed by others of a different kind, though equally concluſive in ſupport of this conjecture. Tobago, Margaretta, and Trinidad, iſlands that are the neareſt to the continent, produce, as well as the Caribbees, trees, the wood of which is ſoft, and wild cocoa. This particular ſpecies is not to be found, at leaſt in any quantity, in the northern iſlands. In theſe the only wood we meet with is hard. Cuba, ſituated at the other extremity of the Caribbees, abounds, like Florida, from which, perhaps, it hath been ſeparated, with cedars and cypreſſes, both equally uſeful for the building of ſhips.

Nature of the ſoil of the Caribbee Iſlands. Vegetables found there before the invaſion.

The ſoil of the Caribbees conſiſts moſtly of a layer of clay or gravel, of different thickneſs; under which is a bed of ſtone or rock. The nature of ſome of theſe ſoils is better adapted to vegetation than others. In thoſe places where the clay is drier and more friable, and mixes with the leaves and remains of plants, a layer of earth is formed, of greater depth than where the clay is moiſter. The ſand or gravel has different properties, according to its peculiar nature; wherever it is leſs hard, leſs compact, and leſs porous, ſmall pieces ſeparate themſelves from it; which, though dry, preſerve a certain degree of coolneſs uſeful to vegetation. This ſoil is called in America, a pumiceſtone ſoil. Wherever the clay and gravel do not go through ſuch modifications, the ſoil becomes barren, as ſoon as the layer, formed by the decompoſition of

BOOK X. the original plants, is deſtroyed, from the neceſſity there is of weeding it, which too frequently expoſes its ſalts to the heat of the ſun. Hence, in thoſe cultures which require leſs weeding, and where the plant covers with its leaves the vegetable ſalts, there the fertility of the ground has been preſerved.

When the Europeans landed at the Caribbee Iſlands, they found them covered with large trees, connected, as it were, to one another by a ſpecies of creeping plant; which, riſing up in the ſame manner as the ivy, wove itſelf around all the branches, and concealed them from the ſight. There was ſo great a plenty of this plant, and it grew ſo thick, that it was impoſſible to penetrate into the woods before it was cut down. From its great degree of flexibility it was called Liane. In theſe foreſts, as old as the world itſelf, there were varieties of trees, which, from a ſingular partiality of nature, were very lofty, exceeding ſtraight, and without any excreſcences or defects. The annual fall and breaking down of the leaves, and the decay of the trunks rotted away by time, formed a moiſt ſediment upon the ground; which being cleared, occaſioned a ſurpriſing degree of vegetation in thoſe plants that were ſubſtituted to the trees that were rooted up.

In whatever ſoil theſe trees grew, their roots were ſcarcely two feet deep, and generally much leſs: though they extended themſelves on the ſurface, in proportion to the weight they had to ſupport. The exceſſive dryneſs of the ground, where the moſt plentiful rains never penetrate very deep, as they are ſoon attracted by the ſun-beams, and the conſtant dews that moiſten the ſurface, made the roots of theſe plants extend themſelves horizontally, inſtead of deſcending perpendicularly, as they generally do in other climates.

The trees that grew on the tops of mountains and in ſteep places were very hard. The ſharpeſt cutting inſtrument could ſcarcely make any impreſſion upon them. Such were the agouti, the palm-tree, the barata wood, which have ſince been uſefully employed

in building. Such were the courbari, the acajou, the manchineel, and the iron-wood, which have been found fit for joiner's work. Such is the acoma, which being either put into the ground, or expofed to the air, is preferved for a long time without being attacked by the worms, or rotted by the damp. Such the maple, the trunk of which, being four or five feet in diameter, and the ftem from forty to fifty feet high, ferved to make a canoe of one fingle piece.

The valleys, which are rendered fertile by the mountains, are covered with foft wood. At the foot of thefe trees grow promifcuoufly thofe plants that the liberality of the foil produced for the fubfiftence of the natives of the country. Thofe in moft general ufe were the yam, the Caribbee cabbage, and the battata, the roots of which being tuberofe, like thofe of the potato, might equally afford a wholefome nourifhment. Nature, which appears to have eftablifhed a certain analogy between the characters of people and the provifions intended for their fupport, had provided the Caribbee Iflands with fuch vegetables as could not bear the heat of the fun, flourifhed beft in moift places, required no cultivation, and were renewed two or three times in the year. The iflanders did not thwart the free and fpontaneous operations of nature, by deftroying one of her productions, to give the greater vigour to another. The preparation of the vegetating falts was entirely left to the mere effect of the foil; nor did the natives pretend to fix the place and time of her fertility. They gathered, as chance threw in their way, or the feafon pointed out, fuch fruits as fpontaneoufly offered themfelves for their fupport. They had obferved, that the putrefaction of the weeds was neceffary to the reproduction of thofe plants that were moft ufeful to them.

The roots of thefe plants were never unwholefome; but they were infipid when raw, and had very little flavour even when boiled, unlefs they were feafoned with pimento. When mixed with ginger, and the acid juice of a plant fomewhat refembling our forrel, they

BOOK X. produced a ſtrong liquor, which was the only compound drink of the ſavages. The only art they made uſe of in preparing it, was ſuffering it to ferment ſome days in common water, expoſed to the heat of the ſun.

Excluſive of this nouriſhment, the iſlands alſo ſupplied the inhabitants with a great variety of fruits, but very different from ours. The moſt uſeful among theſe was the banana. The root of the banana tree is tuberoſe and hairy. Its ſtem, which is ſlender and ſoft, grows to ſeven feet at its utmoſt height, and is eight inches in diameter: it is compoſed of ſeveral coats, or concentric ſheaths, tolerably thick, and each of them terminated by a firm petiole, hollowed in form of a gutter, and which ſupports a leaf of ſix feet long, and two feet wide. Theſe leaves, collected in a ſmall number at the bottom of the ſtem, bend by their own weight, and dry up one after the other. They are thin, very ſmooth, green on the upper ſurface, of a paler colour on the under, and furniſhed with parallel fibres, which are very cloſe to each other, are joined at the coſta, and give the leaf a ſatiny appearance. At the end of nine months, the banana tree puſhes out from the midſt of its leaves, when they are all unfolded, a ſprig of three or four feet long, and two feet in diameter, furniſhed at intervals with ſemicircular bands, which each of them ſupports, a cluſter of a dozen or more flowers, covered with a ſpatha, or membranous encloſure. Each piſtil is charged with a ſtile of ſix ſtamina and one calix, with two leaves, one external, lengthened out, and terminated by five indentations; the other internal, ſhorter, and concave. This piſtil, and one of the ſtamina, are abortive in the flowers at the extremity, the cluſters of which are ſmall, cloſe, and concealed under coloured and permanent encloſures. In the other flowers, five of the ſtamina are found abortive; but the piſtil becomes a fleſhy fruit, elongated, ſlightly arched, covered with a yellow and thick pellicle, and filled with a pulpy, yellowiſh ſubſtance, of a ſweetiſh taſte, and very nouriſhing. The

affemblage of thefe fruits, to the number of fifty and upwards, upon the fame ftem, is called a *regime* of bananas; which is as much as a man can carry. While it is upon the ftem, its weight makes it bend towards the ground. As foon as it is gathered, this ftem dries up, and is fucceeded by frefh fprigs, which come out of the root, and flower nine months after, or later, when they are tranfplanted. There is no other way of multiplying the banana tree, which never yields any feed.

This plant exhibits a number of varieties, which confift only in the form, the fize, and the goodnefs of the fruit. It is agreeable to the tafte, and is eaten raw, or prepared in feveral ways.

One fingular circumftance worthy of remark is, that while the voracious plant, which we have termed Liane, climbed round all the barren trees, it avoided the fertile ones, though promifcuoufly blended with the former. Nature feemed, as it were, to have prefcribed to it, to refpect what fhe had deftined for the fuftenance of man.

The iflanders were not fo plentifully fupplied with pot-herbs, as with roots and fruits. Purflain and creffes were the only herbs of this kind they had.

Their other food was confined within a very narrow compafs: they had no tame fowl; and the only quadrupeds that were fit for food did not amount to more than five forts, the largeft of which did not exceed in fize our common rabbits. The birds, more pleafing to the eye, though lefs varied than in our climates, were valuable almoft only on account of their feathers: few of them warbled forth thofe melting notes that are fo captivating to the ear; moft of them were extremely thin, and very infipid to the tafte. Fifh was nearly as plentiful as in other feas, but generally lefs wholefome and lefs delicate.

The virtues of the plants that nature had placed in thefe iflands, to cure the very few diforders the inhabitants were fubject to, can fcarce be exaggerated. Whether they were applied externally, or taken in-

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ternally, or the juice of them given in infusion, their effects were as speedy as salutary. The invaders of those formerly peaceable regions have employed these simples, which are always green and in full vigour, and preferred them to all the medicines that Asia can furnish to the rest of the world.

Is the climate of these islands agreeable and wholesome?

The generality of the inhabitants of these islands consider but two seasons among them, that of drought and that of rain. Nature, whose operations are constant, and concealed under a perpetual verdure, appears to them to act always uniformly. But those who attentively observe her progress, discern, that in the temperature of the climate, in all the revolutions and the changes of vegetation, she observes the same laws as in Europe, though in a less sensible manner.

These almost imperceptible changes are no preservative against the dangers and inconveniences of such a scorching climate as must be naturally expected under the torrid zone. As these islands are all under the tropics, their inhabitants are exposed, allowing for the varieties resulting from difference of situation and of soil, to a perpetual heat, which generally increases from the rising of the sun till an hour after noon, and then decreases in proportion as the sun declines. A covered sky, that might serve to alleviate this heat, is seldom seen. Sometimes, indeed, clouds appear for an hour or two; but the sun is never hid for four days during the whole year.

The variations in the temperature of the air depend rather upon the wind, than the changes of the seasons. In those places where the wind doth not blow, the air is excessively hot, and none but the easterly winds contribute to temperate and refresh it; those that blow from the south and west afford little relief, but they are much less frequent and less regular than that which comes from the east. The branches of the trees exposed to its influence are forced round towards the west, in that direction which they seemed to be thrown into by the constant and uniform course of the wind. But their roots are stronger, and more extended under

ground towards the east, in order to afford them, as it were, a fixed point, the resistance of which may counteract the power of the ruling wind. Accordingly, it hath been observed, that, whenever the westerly wind blows with any violence, the trees are easily thrown down: in order, therefore, to judge of the violence of a hurricane, the number of trees, as well as the direction in which they fall, is equally to be considered.

The easterly wind depends upon two invariable causes, the probability of which is very striking. The first arises from the diurnal motion of the earth from west to east, and which must necessarily be more rapid under the equinoctial than under the parallels of latitude, because a greater space must be passed over in the same time. The second is owing to the heat of the sun, which, as soon as it rises above the horizon, rarefies the air, and causes it to blow towards the west, in proportion as the earth revolves towards the east.

The easterly wind, therefore, which at the Caribbee Islands is scarcely felt before nine or ten o'clock in the morning, increases in proportion as the sun rises above the horizon, and decreases as it declines. Towards the evening it ceases entirely to blow on the coasts, but not on the open sea. The reasons of this difference are very evident. After the setting of the sun, the air from the land, that continues for a considerable time rarefied, on account of the vapours which are constantly rising from the heated globe, necessarily flows back upon the air of the sea: this is what is generally called a Land Breeze. It is most sensibly felt in the night, and continues till the air of the sea, rarefied by the heat of the sun, flows back again towards the land, where the air hath been condensed by the coolness of the night. It hath also been observed, that the easterly wind blows more regularly, and with greater force, in the dog-days, than at any other times of the year; because the sun then acts more powerfully on the air. Thus nature causes the excessive heat of the sun to contribute to the refreshment of those climates that are parched up by its rays. It is thus, that in fire-en-

BOOK X. gines art makes the fire inftrumental in fupplying conftantly with frefh water the copper veffels from which it is exhaufted by evaporation.

The rain contributes alfo to the temperature of the American iflands, though not equally in them all. In thofe places where the eafterly wind meets with nothing to oppofe its progrefs, it difpels the clouds as they begin to rife, and compels them to break, either in the woods, or upon the mountains. But whenever the ftorms are too violent, or the blowing of the eafterly wind is interrupted by the changeable and temporary effect of the fouthern and wefterly ones, it then begins to rain. In the other Caribbee Iflands, where this wind doth not generally blow, the rains are fo frequent and plentiful, efpecially in the winter feafon, which lafts from the middle of July to the middle of October, that, according to the moft accurate obfervations, as much water falls in one week, during this time, as in our climates in the fpace of a year. Inftead of thofe mild and refrefhing fhowers which we fometimes enjoy in Europe, the rains in thefe climates are torrents, the found of which might be miftaken for that of hail, if this were not almoft unknown under fo burning a fky.

Thefe fhowers, it muft be allowed, refrefh the air; but they occafion a dampnefs, the effects of which are no lefs difagreeable than fatal. The dead muft be interred within a few hours after they have expired. Meat will not keep fweet above four-and-twenty hours. The fruits decay, whether they are gathered ripe, or before their maturity. The bread muft be made up into bifcuits, to prevent its growing mouldy. Common wines foon turn four; and iron grows rufty in a day's time. The feeds can only be preferved by conftant attention and care, till the proper feafon returns for fowing them. When the Caribbee Iflands were firft difcovered, the corn that was conveyed there for the fupport of thofe who could not accuftom themfelves to the food of the natives of the country, was fo foon damaged, that it became neceffary to fend it

in the ears. This neceſſary precaution enhanced the price of it ſo much, that few people were able to buy it. Flour was then ſubſtituted in lieu of corn, which lowered, indeed, the expences of tranſport, but was attended with this inconvenience, that it was ſooner damaged. It was imagined by a merchant, that if the flour were entirely ſeparated from the bran, which contributes to its fermentation, it would have the double advantage of cheapneſs and of keeping longer. He cauſed it therefore to be ſifted, and put the fineſt flour into ſtrong caſks, and beat it cloſe together with iron hammers, till it became ſo hard a body, that the air could ſcarce penetrate it. Experience juſtified ſo ſenſible a contrivance: the practice of it hath become general, and been conſiderably improved ever ſince.

It was thought that nothing more remained to be done, when M. du Hamel propoſed another precaution, that of drying the flour in ſtoves, before it was embarked. This idea attracted the attention of the French miniſtry. Flour prepared in the new way, and ſome according to the former mode, was ſent to the other hemiſphere. Upon their return, the firſt had loſt nothing, and the laſt was half rotten, and deprived of its glutinous property. The ſame reſult hath attended all the experiments. It is pleaſing to hope, that a diſcovery ſo uſeful will not be loſt, for the nations that have formed ſettlements to the ſouth of America. If it doth not ſecure to the proviſions the ſame degree of duration that they have in our dry and temperate climates, they will not at leaſt be corrupted ſo ſoon, and will be preſerved for a longer time.

Ordinary phenomenon in the iſlands.

However troubleſome theſe natural effects of the rain may be, it is attended with ſome ſtill more formidable; ſuch as frequent and ſometimes dreadful earthquakes in the iſlands. As they generally happen during the time, or towards the end of the rainy ſeaſon, and when the tides are higheſt, ſome ingenious naturaliſts have therefore ſuppoſed that they might be owing to theſe two cauſes.

The waters of the ſky and of the ſea undermine,

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dig up, and ravage the earth in feveral ways. The ocean, in particular, exerts its fury upon this globe with a violence that can neither be forefeen nor prevented. Among the various fhocks to which it is conftantly expofed, from this reftlefs and boifterous element, there is one, which, at the Caribbee Iflands, is diftinguifhed by the name of *raz de marée*, or whirlpool. It conftantly happens once, twice, or three times, from July to October, and always on the weftern coafts; becaufe it takes place after the time of the wefterly and foutherly winds, or while they blow. The waves, which at a diftance feem to advance gently within four or five hundred yards, fuddenly fwell againft the fhore, as if acted upon in an oblique direction by fome fuperior force, and break with the greateft impetuofity. The fhips which are then upon the coaft, or in the roads beyond it, unable either to put to fea or keep their anchors, are dafhed to pieces againft the land, leaving the unhappy failors entirely without hopes of efcaping that certain death, the approaches of which they have been expecting for feveral hours.

So extraordinary a motion of the fea hath been hitherto confidered as the confequence of a ftorm. But a ftorm follows the direction of the wind, from one point of the compafs to another; and whirlpools are felt in one part of an ifland that is fheltered by another ifland, where the fhock is not at all perceived. This obfervation hath induced Mr. Dutafta, who has travelled through Africa and America, as a natural philofopher, a merchant, and a ftatefman, to feek for a more probable caufe of this fingular phenomenon. He hath not only difcovered this, but alfo feveral other truths that may be ufeful to many of the fciences, if he fhould ever make them public. We fhall then, probably, acquire more certain information concerning hurricanes.

The hurricane is a violent wind, generally accompanied with rain, lightning, and thunder, fometimes with earthquakes; and always attended with the moft

melancholy and fatal consequences that the wind can produce. The day, which in the torrid zone is usually bright and clear, is suddenly changed into a dark and universal night; the appearance of a perpetual spring into the dreariness and horror of the most gloomy winter. Trees, as ancient as the world itself, are torn up by the roots, and instantly disappear. The strongest and the most solid buildings are in a moment buried in ruins. Where the eye delighted itself with the prospect of rich and verdant hills, nothing is to be seen but plantations entirely destroyed, and frightful caverns. The unhappy sufferers, deprived of their whole support, weep over the carcases of the dead, or search among the ruins for their friends and relations. The noise of the waters, of the woods, of the thunder, and of the winds, that break against the shattered rocks; the cries and howlings of men and animals, promiscuously involved in a whirlwind of sand, stones, and ruins of buildings: all together seem to portend the last struggles of expiring nature.

These hurricanes, however, contribute to produce more plentiful crops, and to ripen the fruits of the earth. Whether these violent concussions tear up the ground, in order to render it more fertile, or whether the hurricane brings along with it certain substances fit to promote the vegetation of plants, is not easily determined: but it hath been observed, that this seeming and temporary confusion was not only a consequence of the uniformity of nature, which makes even dissolution itself instrumental to regeneration, but also the means of preserving the general system, the life and vigour of which is maintained by an internal fermentation, the source of partial evil and of general good.

The first inhabitants of the Caribbee Islands imagined that they had discovered infallible prognostics of this alarming phenomenon. They observed, that, when it was near at hand, the air was misty, the sun red, and yet the weather calm, and the tops of the mountains clear. Under the earth, and in the reser-

BOOK X. voirs of water, a dull ſound was heard, like that ariſing from pent-up winds. The ſtars were clouded by a vapour, that made them appear larger. The ſky, in the north-weſt, was overſpread with dark and black clouds, that ſeemed very alarming. The ſea ſent forth a ſtrong and diſagreeable ſmell, and, in the midſt of a calm, was ſuddenly agitated. The wind changed in a moment from eaſt to weſt, and blew very violently at different intervals, each of which continued for two hours together.

Though the truth of all theſe obſervations cannot be aſcertained, yet to pay no attention to the ideas, and even prejudices, of ſavage nations on times and ſeaſons, would be a ſeeming indication of imprudence, or of a mind too little addicted to philoſophical inquiries. The want of employment of theſe people, and their being habituated to live in open air, afford them an opportunity, and put them under a neceſſity, of obſerving the ſmalleſt alterations in the air, and of acquiring ſuch informations on this point, as have eſcaped the more enlightened nations, which are more employed, and more devoted to works of a ſedentary nature. Poſſibly we muſt be indebted to the man who dwells in the foreſts for the diſcovery of effects, and to the learned man for the inveſtigation of cauſes. Let us trace, if poſſible, the cauſe of hurricanes, a phenomenon ſo frequent in America, that this alone would have been ſufficient to make it be deſerted, or render it uninhabitable many ages ago.

No hurricanes come from the eaſt, that is, from the greateſt extent of the ſea at the Caribbee Iſlands. As this is an acknowledged fact, it would induce us to believe, that they are formed on the continent of America. The weſt wind which blows conſtantly, and ſometimes very violently in the ſouthern parts, from July to January, and the north wind blowing at the ſame time in the northern parts, muſt, when they meet, oppoſe each other with a force proportionate to their natural velocity. If this ſhock happens in the long and narrow paſſes of the mountains, it muſt occaſion a ſtrong

current of air, that will extend itfelf in a compound ratio of the moving power, and the diameter of the narrow pafs of the mountain. Every folid body that meets this current of air, will be impreffed with a degree of force proportioned to the extent of furface it oppofes to the current; fo that if the pofition of that furface fhould be perpendicular to the direction of the hurricane, it is impoffible to determine what effect might be produced upon the whole mafs. Fortunately, the different bearings of the coaft of thefe iflands, and their angular or fpherical figure, occafion thefe dreadful hurricanes to fall upon furfaces more or lefs oblique, which divert the current of air, break its force, and gradually deftroy its effects. Experience alfo proves, that their action is by degrees fo much weakened, that even in the direction where the hurricane falls with moft force, it is fcarce felt at ten leagues diftance. The moft accurate obfervers have remarked, that all the hurricanes which have fucceffively fubverted the iflands, came from the north-weft, and confequently from the narrow paffes formed by the mountains of St. Martha. The diftance of fome iflands from this direction, is not a fufficient reafon for rejecting this opinion; as feveral caufes may contribute to divert a current of air to the fouth or eaft. We cannot help thinking, therefore, that thofe perfons have been in an error, who have afferted, that the violence of a hurricane was felt under whatever point of the compafs the wind came from. Such are the deftructive phenomena Nature hath oppofed to the acquifition of the riches of the New World: but what barrier could reftrain the daring fpirit of the navigator who difcovered it?

Cuftoms of the Caribs, the ancient inhabitants of the Windward iflands.

Chriftopher Columbus having firft formed a fettlement at St. Domingo, one of the Greater Antilles, difcovered the Lefs. The iflanders he had to encounter there, were not fo weak and cowardly as thofe he had at firft fubdued. The Caribs, who thought they originally came from Guiana, were of moderate ftature, thick fet and ftrong, and fuch as feemed adapted to form men of fuperior ftrength, if their manner of life

BOOK X. and exercises had seconded these natural appearances. Their legs, thick and muscular, were generally well made; their eyes black, large, and somewhat prominent. Their whole figure would have been pleasing, had they not spoiled their natural beauty by fancied and artificial ornaments, which could only be agreeable among themselves. The eye-brows and the head were the only parts of the body on which they suffered any hair to grow. They wore no garment, nor had this any influence on their chastity. In order to guard against the bite of insects, they painted all their bodies over with the juice of the rocou, or arnotto, which gave them the appearance of a boiled lobster.

Their religion consisted only in some confused belief of a good and bad principle; an opinion so natural to man, that we find it diffused among the most savage nations, and preserved even among many civilized people. They were little concerned about the tutelary divinity, but had the greatest dread of the evil principle. Their other superstitions were more absurd than dangerous, and they were but little attached to them. This indifference did not contribute to render them more ready to embrace Christianity when it was proposed to them. Without entering into dispute with those who expounded the doctrines, they contented themselves with rejecting the belief of them, *for fear*, as they said, *that their neighbours should laugh at them.*

Though the Caribs had no regular form of government among them, yet they lived quietly and peaceably with one another. The tranquillity they enjoyed, was entirely owing to that innate principle of compassion which precedes all reflection, and is the source of all social virtues. This humane spirit of benevolence arises from the very frame and nature of man, whose self-love alone is sufficient to make him abhor the sufferings of his fellow-creatures. To infuse, therefore, a spirit of humanity into the minds of tyrants, it would only be necessary to make them the executioners of those victims they sacrifice to their pride, and of those

cruelties they order to be practifed upon others. The hands of thofe voluptuaries fhould be obliged to mutilate the eunuchs of their feraglios; they fhould be forced to attend the field of battle; they fhould there behold the bleeding wounds, hear the imprecations, and be witneffes of the agonies and convulfions of their dying foldiers; they fhould next attend the hofpitals, and at leifure contemplate the wounds, the fractures, the difeafes occafioned by famine, by labours equally dangerous and unwholefome, by cruel fervices and taxes, and by the other calamities which arife from the vices and profligacy of their manners. How greatly would fcenes like thefe, occafionally introduced in the education of princes, contribute to leffen the crimes and fufferings of the human race! What benefits would not the people derive from the compaffionate emotions of their fovereigns?

Among the Caribs, whofe hearts were not depraved by the pernicious inftitutions that corrupt us, neither adultery, treafon, nor maffacres, fo common among civilized nations, were known. Religion, the laws, and penal punifhments, thofe barriers raifed to protect old cuftoms from the encroachments of new ones, were ufelefs to men who followed nature alone. Theft was never heard of among thefe favages, before the Europeans came among them. When they difcovered any thing miffing, they obferved, *that the Chriftians had been with them.*

Thefe iflanders were little acquainted with the ftrongeft paffions of the foul, not even with that of love. This paffion was with them merely a fenfual appetite. They never fhowed the leaft marks of attention or tendernefs for that fex, fo much courted in other countries. They confidered their wives rather in the light of flaves than of companions; they did not even fuffer them to eat with them, and had ufurped the right of divorcing them, without granting them the indulgence of marrying again. The women felt themfelves born to obey, and fubmitted patiently to their fate.

In other refpects, a tafte for power had little influ-

BOOK X. ence on the minds of the Caribs; as they had no diſtinction of ranks among them, they were all on a footing of equality, and were extremely ſurpriſed to find degrees of ſubordination eſtabliſhed among the Europeans. This ſyſtem was ſo repugnant to their ideas, that they conſidered thoſe as ſlaves, who had the weakneſs to receive the commands of a ſuperior, and obey them. The ſubjection of the women among them, was a natural conſequence of the weakneſs of the ſex. But in what manner, and for what reaſon, the ſtronger men ſubmitted themſelves to the weaker; and how one man commanded the whole body, was a problem, that neither war, treachery, nor ſuperſtition, had been able to reſolve.

The manners of a people, neither influenced by intereſt, vanity, or ambition, muſt be very ſimple. Every family formed within itſelf a republic, diſtinct in ſome degree from the reſt of the nation. They compoſed a hamlet, called *carbet*, of greater or leſs conſequence, in proportion to the ſpace of ground it occupied. The chief or patriarch of the family lived in the centre, with his wives and younger children. Around him were placed the huts of ſuch of his deſcendants as were married. The columns that ſupported theſe huts were ſtakes; the roofs were thatched; and the whole furniture conſiſted of ſome weapons, cotton beds made very plain and ſimple, ſome baſkets, and utenſils made of calabaſhes.

In theſe huts the Caribs ſpent the greateſt part of their life, either in ſleeping or ſmoking. When they went out, they retired into ſome corner, and ſat upon the ground, ſeemingly abſorbed in the moſt profound contemplation. Whenever they ſpoke, which was not very often, they were heard without interruption or contradiction, and without any anſwer, but the ſign of a tacit approbation.

They were not much troubled in providing for their ſuſtenance. Savages, who ſpent their life in the condenſed air of the foreſt, who had the cuſtom of covering themſelves with a layer of rocou, which cloſed up

the pores of the ſkin; who ſpent their days in idleneſs and indolence; ſuch ſavages muſt neceſſarily perſpire very little, and be very moderate in their eating. Without being compelled to the labours of cultivation, they found conſtantly, at the foot of the trees, a wholeſome food, fitted to their conſtitution; and which required no great preparation. If they ſometimes added to theſe gifts of liberal and uncultivated nature, what they had taken in hunting and fiſhing, it was moſtly upon occaſion of ſome public feaſt.

Theſe extraordinary feſtivals were not holden at any ſtated times. The gueſts themſelves ſhowed no alteration in their uſual characters. In theſe meetings they were not more gay or ſprightly than at other times. A ſpirit of indolence and liſtleſſneſs appeared in their countenances. Their dances were ſo grave and ſolemn, that the motions of their bodies were expreſſive of the dullneſs of their minds. But theſe gloomy feſtivals, like thoſe clouded ſkies that are the forerunners of a ſtorm, were ſeldom concluded without bloodſhed. Theſe ſavages, who were ſo temperate when alone, grew drunk when aſſembled in companies, and their intoxication excited and revived thoſe family diſſenſions, that were either only ſtifled, or not entirely extinguiſhed: and thus theſe feſtivals terminated in maſſacres. Hatred and revenge, the only paſſions that could deeply agitate the minds of theſe ſavages, were thus perpetuated by convivial pleaſures. In the height of theſe entertainments, parents and relations embraced one another, and ſwore that they would wage war upon the continent, and, ſometimes, in the great iſlands.

The Caribs uſed to embark upon boats, made of a ſingle tree, that had been felled by burning its roots. Whole years had been employed in hollowing theſe canoes, by hatchets made of ſtone, or by means of fire, ſkilfully applied within the trunk of the tree, in order to bring it to the moſt proper form. Theſe free and voluntary warriors being arrived on the coaſts, to which they were led, ſometimes by a blind caprice, and ſome-

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times by violent hatred, went in queſt of nations to exterminate. They made their attack with a kind of club, nearly as long as the arm, and with poiſoned arrows. At their return from this military expedition, which was the more ſpeedily brought to a concluſion, as mutual enmity rendered it more cruel and ſpirited, the ſavages fell again into their former ſtate of indolence and inactivity.

The Spaniards, notwithſtanding the advantage of fire-arms, did not continue long at war with this people, nor were they always ſucceſsful. At firſt they fought only for gold, and afterwards for ſlaves; but not meeting with any mines, and the Caribs being ſo proud and ſullen that they died when reduced to ſlavery, the Spaniards gave up all thoughts of making conqueſts which they thought of little conſequence, and which they could neither acquire nor preſerve without conſtant and bloody wars.

The Engliſh and French ſettled in the Windward Iſlands on the ruin of the Caribs.

The Engliſh and French, being appriſed of theſe tranſactions, ventured to equip a ſmall fleet, in order to intercept the Spaniſh veſſels which frequented theſe latitudes. The advantages gained increaſed the number of pirates. Peace, which frequently took place in Europe, did not prevent theſe expeditions. The cuſtom that prevailed among the Spaniards, of ſtopping all ſhips that ſailed beyond the tropic, juſtified ſuch piracies.

The two nations had long been acquainted with the Windward Iſlands, without ever thinking of making any ſettlement there, or having been able to fix upon the mode of doing it. They were, perhaps, apprehenſive of irritating the Caribs, by whom they had been favourably received; or, perhaps, they conſidered that a ſoil which afforded none of thoſe productions that were of uſe in the Old World was unworthy of their attention. At length, however, ſome Engliſh and French, the former headed by Warner, and the latter by Denambuc, landed at St. Chriſtopher's on the ſame day, at two oppoſite parts of the iſland. The frequent loſſes they ſuſtained, ſerved to convince them

both, that they certainly would never triumph over, and enrich themſelves with the ſpoils of the common enemy, unleſs they had ſome fixed reſidence, ports, and a place of general rendezvous. As they had no notion of commerce, agriculture, or conqueſt, they amicably divided the coaſts of the iſland where they accidentally met together. The natives of the country retired from the ſpot they were fixed upon, telling them at the ſame time, that *land muſt either be very bad or very ſcarce with them, ſince they were come from ſo great a diſtance, and had expoſed themſelves to ſo many dangers, to ſeek for it among them.*

The court of Madrid were not ſo peaceably inclined. Frederick of Toledo, who was ſent to Brazil in the year 1630, with a powerful fleet, to attack the Dutch, was ordered, in his paſſage, to deſtroy the pirates, who, according to the prejudices of that nation, had invaded one of their territories. The vicinity of two active and induſtrious nations occaſioned the greateſt anxiety to the Spaniards. They were ſenſible that their colonies would be expoſed to attacks, if any other people ſhould come to ſettle in that part of America.

The French and Engliſh in vain united their weak powers againſt the common enemy: they were beaten; and thoſe who were not either killed in the action, or not taken priſoners, fled for ſhelter, with the utmoſt precipitation, into the neighbouring iſlands. When the danger was over, they moſt of them returned to their former ſettlements. Spain, whoſe attention was engroſſed by objects ſhe conſidered as of greater importance, diſturbed them no more; taking it for granted, perhaps, that their mutual jealouſies would occaſion their deſtruction.

Unfortunately for the Caribs, the two nations, thus conquered, ſuſpended their rivalſhip. The Caribs, already ſuſpected of forming a conſpiracy in St. Chriſtopher's, were either baniſhed or deſtroyed. Their wives, their proviſions, and even the lands they occupied, were ſeized upon. A ſpirit of anxiety, the con-

BOOK X. ſequence of uſurpation, inclined the Europeans to believe that the other ſavage nations had entered into the conſpiracy; and they were therefore attacked in their iſlands. In vain did thoſe plain and inoffenſive men, who had no inclination to contend for the poſſeſſion of a land which they conſidered not as their property, remove the boundaries of their habitations, in proportion as the Europeans advanced with their encroachments; they were ſtill purſued with the ſame eagerneſs and obſtinacy. As ſoon as they perceived that their lives or liberties were in danger, they at length took up arms; and the ſpirit of revenge, which always goes beyond the injury, muſt have ſometimes contributed to render them cruel, though not unjuſt.

In earlier times, the Engliſh and the French conſidered the Caribs as their common enemy; but this kind of caſual aſſociation was frequently interrupted. It implied not a laſting engagement, much leſs the becoming guarantee for their mutual poſſeſſions. The ſavages artfully contrived to be at peace, ſometimes with one nation, and ſometimes with the other; and thus they gained the advantage of having only one enemy at a time. This management would have been but of little ſervice to theſe iſlanders, had not Europe, ſcarce paying any attention to a few adventurers, whoſe excurſions had as yet been of no uſe to her, and not ſufficiently enlightened to penetrate into futurity, neglected both the care of governing them, as well as that of putting them into a condition to extend or recover the advantages they had already acquired. The indifference ſhown by the two mother-countries, determined their ſubjects of the New World, in the month of January 1660, to enter into an alliance, ſecuring to each people thoſe poſſeſſions the various events of war had procured them, and which till then had been totally unſettled. This alliance was accompanied with an offenſive and defenſive league, to compel the natives of the country to join in this plan; to which their fears induced them to accede the very ſame year.

By this treaty, which eſtabliſhed tranquillity in this part of America, France obtained Guadalupe, Martinico, Granada, and ſome leſs conſiderable acquiſitions. England was confirmed in the poſſeſſion of Barbadoes, Nevis, Antigua, Montſerrat, and ſeveral other iſlands of little value: St. Chriſtopher's belonged to both nations. The Caribs were confined to Dominica and St. Vincent's, where all the ſcattered body of this people united, and did not at that time exceed in number 6000 men.

The French take poſſeſſion of part of St. Domingo. Character of theſe adventurers.

At this period, the Engliſh ſettlements had acquired under a government, which, though not free from defects, was yet tolerable, ſome kind of form, and were in a flouriſhing ſtate. On the contrary, the French colonies were abandoned by a great number of their inhabitants, reduced to deſpair, from the neceſſity they were under of ſubmitting to the tyranny of excluſive privileges. Theſe men, paſſionately attached to liberty, fled to the northern coaſt of St. Domingo, a place of refuge for ſeveral adventurers of their own country, ſince they had been driven out of St. Chriſtopher's about thirty years before.

They were called Buccaneers, becauſe they imitated the cuſtom of the ſavages, in drying the food they lived upon by ſmoke, in places called Buccans. As they had no wives nor children, they uſually aſſociated two in a company, to aſſiſt one another in family duties. In theſe ſocieties property was common, and the laſt ſurvivor inherited all that remained. Theft was unknown among them, though no precautions were taken againſt it; and what was wanting at home was freely borrowed from ſome of the neighbours, without any other reſtriction than that of a previous intimation, if they were at home; if not, of making them acquainted with it at their return. Cæſar found in Gaul the ſame cuſtom, which bears the double character, both of a primitive ſtate, in which every thing was in common, and of times poſterior to that in which the idea of private property was known and reſpected. Differences ſeldom aroſe, and, when they did, were

BOOK X. easily adjusted. If the parties, however, were obstinate, they decided the matter by fire-arms. If the ball entered at the back or the sides, it was considered as a mark of treachery, and the assassin was immediately put to death. The former laws of their country were disregarded, and by the usual sea baptism they had received in passing the tropic, they considered themselves exempted from all obligation to obey them. These adventurers had even quitted their family name to assume others, borrowed from terms of war, most of which have been transmitted to their posterity.

The dress of these barbarians consisted of a shirt dipped in the blood of the animals they killed in hunting; a pair of drawers dirtier than the shirt, and made in the shape of a brewer's apron; a girdle made of leather, on which a very short sabre was hung, and some knives; a hat without any rim, except a flap before, in order to take hold of it; and shoes without stockings. Their ambition was satisfied, if they could but provide themselves with a gun that carried balls of an ounce weight, and with a pack of about five-and-twenty or thirty dogs.

The buccaneers spent their life in hunting the wild bulls, of which there were great numbers in the island, since the Spaniards had brought them. The best parts of these animals, when seasoned with pimento and orange juice, were the most common food of their destroyers, who had forgotten the use of bread, and who had nothing but water to drink. The hides of these animals were conveyed to several ports, and bought by the navigators. They were carried thither by men who were called *engagés*, or bondsmen, a set of persons who were used to sell themselves in Europe to serve as slaves in the colonies during the term of three years. One of these miserable men presuming to represent to his master, who always fixed upon a Sunday for this voyage, that God had forbidden such a practice, when he had declared, *Six days shalt thou labour, and on the seventh day shalt thou rest*; And I, replied the brutal Buccaneer, say to thee, *Six days thou shalt kill*

bulls, and ſtrip them of their ſkins, and on the ſeventh day thou ſhalt carry their hides to the ſea-ſhore. This command was followed by blows, which ſometimes enforce obedience, ſometimes diſobedience to the laws of God.

Men of ſuch a caſt, habituated to conſtant exerciſes, and feeding every day on freſh meat, were little expoſed to diſeaſes. Their excurſions were only ſuſpended by a ſlight fever, which laſted one day, and was not felt the next. They muſt, however, have been weakened by length of time, under a climate of too intenſe a heat, to enable them to ſupport ſo hard and laborious a manner of life.

The climate, indeed, was the only enemy the Buccaneers had reaſon to fear. The Spaniſh colony, at firſt ſo conſiderable, was reduced to nothing. Neglected and forgotten by the mother-country, it had even loſt the remembrance of its former greatneſs. The few inhabitants that ſurvived lived in a ſtate of indolence: their ſlaves had no other employment but to ſwing them in their hammocks. Confined to thoſe wants only that are ſatisfied by nature, frugality prolonged their lives to an old age, rarely to be met with in more temperate climates.

It is probable they would not have been rouſed from their indolence, had not the enterpriſing and active ſpirit of their enemies purſued them in proportion as they retreated. Exaſperated at length, from having their tranquillity and eaſe continually diſturbed, they invited from the continent, and from the neighbouring iſlands, ſome troops, who fell upon the diſperſed Buccaneers. They unexpectedly attacked theſe barbarians in ſmall parties in their excurſions, or in the night-time, when retired into their huts, and many of them were maſſacred. Theſe adventurers would moſt probably have been all deſtroyed, had they not formed themſelves into a body for their mutual defence. They were under an abſolute neceſſity of ſeparating in the day-time, but met together in the evening. If any one of them was miſſing, it was ſuppoſed that he

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was either taken prifoner or killed, and the chafe was delayed, till he was either found, or his death revenged. We may eafily conceive how much blood muft have been fhed by fuch ruffians, belonging to no country, and fubject to no laws; hunters and warriors from the calls of nature and inftinct; and excited to murder and maffacres from being habituated to attack, and from the neceffity of defending themfelves. In the height of their fury, they devoted every thing to deftruction, without any diftinction of fex or age. The Spaniards, at length defpairing of being able to get the better of fuch favage and obftinate enemies, took the refolution of deftroying all the bulls of the iflands, by a general chafe. The execution of this defign having deprived the Buccaneers of their ufual refources, put them under the neceffity of making fettlements, and cultivating the lands.

France, which till that time had difclaimed for her fubjects thefe ruffians, whofe fucceffes were only temporary, acknowledged them, however, as foon as they formed themfelves into fettlements. In 1665, fhe fent them over a man of probity and underftanding to govern them. Several women attended him, who, like moft of thofe who have at different periods been fent into the New World, were noted for their vices and licentioufnefs. The Buccaneers were not offended at the profligacy of their manners; each of them faid to the woman who fell to his lot:

"I take thee, without knowing, or caring to know, "whom thou art. If any body from whence thou "comeft would have had thee, thou wouldft not have "come in queft of me; but no matter. I do not de-"fire thee to give me an account of thy paft conduct, "becaufe I have no right to be offended at it, at the "time when thou waft at liberty to behave either "well or ill, according to thy own pleafure; and be-"caufe I fhall have no reafon to be afhamed of any "thing thou waft guilty of when thou didft not be-"long to me. Give me only thy word for the fu-"ture. I acquit thee of what is paft." Then ftriking

his hand on the barrel of his gun, he added, "This "will revenge me of thy breach of faith; if thou "shouldst prove false, this will certainly be true to my "aim."

The English conquer Jamaica.

The English had not waited till their rivals had obtained a firm settlement in the Great Antilles to procure themselves an establishment there. The declining state of the kingdom of Spain, weakened by its internal divisions, by the revolt of Catalonia and Portugal, by the commotions of Naples, by the destruction of its formidable infantry in the plains of Rocroy, by its continual losses in the Netherlands, by the incapacity of its ministers, and even by the extinction of that national pride, which, after having been kept up and maintained by fixing itself on great objects, had degenerated into an indolent haughtiness: all these circumstances, tending to the ruin of the Spanish monarchy, left no room to doubt that war might be successfully waged against her. France skilfully took the advantage of these confusions she had partly occasioned; and Cromwell, in the year 1655, joined her, in order to share in the spoils of a kingdom hastening to destruction in every part.

This conduct of the Protector caused a revolt among the best English officers, who, considering it as an instance of great injustice, determined to quit the service. They thought that the will of their superiors could not give sanction to an enterprise which violated all the principles of equity; and that by concurring in the execution of it, they would be guilty of the greatest crime. The rest of the Europeans looked upon these principles of virtue and honour as the effect of that republican and fanatical spirit which then prevailed in England; but they attacked the Protector with other motives.

Spain had long threatened to enslave all other nations. Perhaps the multitude, who are little able to estimate the strength of nations, and to weigh the variations in the balance of power, were not yet recovered from their ancient prejudices. An universal pa-

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nic had ſeized the minds of thoſe able men who attentively ſtudied the general progreſs of affairs. They were ſenſible, that, if the rapid and extraordinary ſucceſſes of France were not checked by ſome foreign power, ſhe would deprive the Spaniards of their poſſeſſions, impoſe on them what laws ſhe thought proper, compel them to the marriage of the Infanta with Lewis the XIV., ſecure to herſelf the inheritance of Charles the V., and oppreſs the liberty of Europe that ſhe had formerly protected. Cromwell, who had lately ſubverted the government of his country, ſeemed a fit perſon to give a check to the power of kings: but he was looked upon as the weakeſt of politicians, when he was obſerved to form connections, which his own private intereſts, thoſe of his country, as well as thoſe of Europe in general, ought abſolutely to have prevented him from entering into.

Theſe obſervations could not poſſibly eſcape the deep and penetrating genius of the uſurper. But, perhaps, he was deſirous of preſerving the idea the nation already entertained of his abilities, by ſome important conqueſt. If he had declared himſelf on the ſide of Spain, the execution of this project muſt have been chimerical; as the utmoſt he could poſſibly expect was to reſtore the balance of power between the two contending parties. He imagined it more favourable to his deſigns, to begin to form a connection with France, and afterwards to attack her, when he had made himſelf maſter of thoſe poſſeſſions that were the object of his ambition. Whatever truth there may be in theſe conjectures, which, however, may be ſupported from the evidence of hiſtory, and are, at leaſt, conſiſtent with the character of the extraordinary politician who is ſuppoſed to have adopted this mode of reaſoning, the Engliſh went into the New World to attack an enemy they had juſt brought upon themſelves.

Their firſt attempts were directed againſt the town of St. Domingo, the inhabitants of which retired into the woods as ſoon as they ſaw a large fleet command-

ed by Penn, and nine thoufand land forces headed by Venables, appear before the city. But the errors committed by their enemies infpiring thefe fugitives with frefh courage, they returned, and compelled the enemy to reimbark with difgrace. This misfortune was the confequence of the ill-concerted plan of this expedition.

The two commanders of this enterprife were men of very moderate abilities. They entertained a mutual hatred againft each other, and were not attached to the Protector. Infpectors had been appointed to watch over them, who, under the name of commiffaries, checked their operations. The foldiers who were fent from Europe were the refufe of the army; and the militia, taken from Barbadoes and St. Chriftopher's, were under no kind of difcipline. The hope of plunder, that ftimulus fo neceffary for the fuccefs of diftant and difficult enterprifes, was prohibited. Matters were arranged in fuch a manner, as to render it impoffible for any kind of harmony to fubfift between the feveral perfons who were to concur in their fuccefs. Proper arms, provifions fit for the climate, and the information neceffary to conduct the enterprife, were all wanting.

The execution of the attack was anfwerable to the plan. The landing of the troops, which might have been effected without danger, even in the port itfelf, was accomplifhed without a guide, at forty miles diftance. The troops wandered about for four days without water or provifions. Exhaufted by the exceffive heat of the climate, and difcouraged by the cowardice and mifunderftanding of their officers, they did not even contend with the Spaniards for victory. They fcarce thought themfelves in fafety when they had got back to their fhips.

But ill fuccefs contributed to reconcile the irritated parties. The Englifh, who had not yet contracted the habit of bearing difgrace, reclaimed by the very faults they had committed, and reftored to the love of their country, to a fenfe of their duty, and to a thirft of glo-

BOOK X. ry, failed for Jamaica, with a determined refolution, either to perifh, or to make the conqueft of it.

The inhabitants of this ifland, fubject to Spain fince the year 1509, were ignorant of what had happened at St. Domingo, and did not imagine they had any enemy failing in the neighbouring feas. The Englifh, therefore, landed without oppofition. They were boldly marching to lay fiege to St. Jago, the only fortified place in the colony, when the governor gave a check to their ardour, by offering them terms of capitulation. The difcuffion of the articles, artfully prolonged, gave the colonifts time to remove their moft valuable effects into fecret places. They themfelves fled for fhelter to inacceffible mountains, leaving only to the conquerors a city without inhabitants, moveables, treafures, or provifions.

This artifice exafperated the befiegers. They fent out detachments on every fide, with exprefs orders to deftroy every thing they met with. The difappointment they felt on finding thefe parties return without having difcovered any thing; the want of every convenience, more fenfibly felt by this nation than any other; the mortality which increafed among them every day; the dread they were under of being attacked by all the forces of the New World: all thefe circumftances confpired to make them clamorous for a fpeedy return into England. The cowardly defertion of fo rich a prize as Jamaica, which they had almoft refolved upon, would foon have expofed them to the mortifying reproaches of their country, had they not difcovered at laft fome pafture land, where the fugitives had conveyed their numerous flocks. This unexpected good fortune occafioned a change in the fentiments of the Englifh, and made them refolve to complete their conqueft.

The fpirit of activity, which this laft refolution had excited, convinced the befieged, that they could not remain with fafety in the forefts and precipices where they had concealed themfelves. They unanimoufly,

therefore, agreed to ſet ſail for Cuba. Here they were received with ſuch marks of diſgrace as the weakneſs of their defence deſerved, and they were ſent back again; but with ſuch ſuccours as were unequal to the forces they had to contend with. From that principle of honour, which in moſt men ariſes rather from a fear of ſhame than a love of glory, they made a more obſtinate reſiſtance than could have been expected from the few reſources they had. They did not evacuate this conſiderable iſland, till they were reduced to the greateſt extremities; and from that period it hath remained one of the moſt valuable poſſeſſions of Great Britain in the New World.

The freebooters ravage the American ſeas. Origin, manners, expeditions, and decline of theſe pirates.

Before the Engliſh had made any ſettlement at Jamaica, and the French at St. Domingo, ſome pirates of both nations, who have ſince been ſo much diſtinguiſhed by the name of Freebooters, had driven the Spaniards out of the ſmall iſland of Tortuga, ſituated at the diſtance of two leagues from St. Domingo; and fortifying themſelves there, had made excurſions with amazing intrepidity againſt the common enemy. They formed themſelves into ſmall companies, conſiſting of fifty, a hundred, or a hundred and fifty men each. A boat, of a greater or ſmaller ſize, was all their naval force. Theſe boats were ſcarce big enough for a perſon to lie down in; and they had nothing to ſhelter them from the ardent heats of a burning climate, nor from the rains, which fall in torrents in thoſe regions. They were often in want of the moſt neceſſary ſupports of life. But all theſe calamities were forgotten at the ſight of a ſhip. They never deliberated on the attack, but proceeded immediately to board the ſhip, of whatever ſize it might be. As ſoon as they threw out the grappling, the veſſel was certainly taken.

In caſes of extreme neceſſity, theſe banditti attacked the people of every nation, but fell upon the Spaniards at all times. They thought that the cruelties they had exerciſed on the Americans, juſtified the implacable averſion they had ſworn againſt them. But this extraordinary kind of humanity was heightened

by perfonal refentment, from the mortification they felt, in feeing themfelves debarred from the privilege of hunting and fifhing, which they juftly confidered as natural rights. Such was their infatuation, that whenever they embarked on any expedition, they ufed to pray to Heaven for the fuccefs of it; and they never came back from the plunder, but they conftantly returned thanks to God for their victory.

The fhips that arrived from Europe feldom tempted their avidity. Thefe barbarians would have found nothing but merchandife in them, the fale of which would not have been very profitable, and would have required too conftant an attention. They always waited for them on their return, when they were laden with the gold, filver, and jewels of the other hemifphere. If they met with a fingle fhip, they never failed to attack her. They followed the fleets themfelves; and any fhip that ftraggled, or remained behind, was inevitably loft. The Spaniards, who trembled at the fight of thefe implacable enemies, immediately furrendered. Life was granted to them, if the cargo proved a rich one; but if the conquerors were difappointed in their expectations, all the crew were frequently thrown into the fea.

Peter Legrand, a native of Dieppe, had no more than four pieces of cannon and twenty-eight men in his boat; yet, with this trifling force, he ventured to attack the vice-admiral of the galleons. He boarded him, having firft given orders to fink his own veffel; and the Spaniards were fo much furprifed at this boldnefs, that not one of them attempted to oppofe him. When he came to the captain's cabin, who was engaged at play, he prefented a piftol to him, and compelled him to furrender. This commander, with the greater part of the crew, they landed at the neareft cape, as a ufelefs burden to the fhip they had fo ill defended, and referved only a fufficient number of failors to work her.

Fifty-five freebooters, who had failed into the fouthern fea, proceeded as far as California. To return in-

to the northern sea, they were obliged to sail two thousand leagues against the wind in a canoe. When they were at the Straits of Magellan, they were seized with rage at having made no plunder in so rich an ocean, and steered again towards Peru. They were informed, that there was in the port of Yauca a ship, the cargo of which was valued at several millions: they immediately attacked, took her, and embarked upon her.

Michael de Basco, Jonqué, and Lawrence le Graff, were cruising before Carthagena with three small and bad vessels, when two men of war sailed out of the harbour to attack these freebooters, and to bring them alive or dead. The Spaniards were so much deceived in their expectations, that they were themselves taken prisoners. The victors kept the ships; but they sent back the crews with a degree of scorn, which greatly enhanced the shame of a defeat in itself so humiliating.

Michael and Brouage having received intelligence that a very valuable cargo had been shipped from Carthagena in vessels carrying a foreign flag, in order to secure it from their rapine, attacked the two ships that were loaded with this treasure, and plundered them. The Dutch captains, exasperated at their being beaten by ships so inferior to theirs, ventured to tell one of these adventurers openly, that, if he had been alone, he would not dare to attack them. *Let us begin the fight again*, replied the Buccaneer with haughtiness, *and my companion shall remain a quiet spectator of the engagement. If I should be conqueror again, both your ships shall also be mine.* The prudent republicans, far from accepting the challenge, quickly made off, apprehending, if they should stop, that they might not have the liberty of declining it.

Lawrence, who was on board a very small vessel, was overtaken by two Spanish ships, carrying each sixty guns. *You have*, said he, addressing himself to his companions, *too much experience not to be sensible of your danger, and too much courage to fear it. On this occa-*

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sion we must avail ourselves of every circumstance, hazard every thing, attack and defend ourselves at the same time. Valour, artifice, rashness, and even despair itself, must now be employed. Let us dread the ignominy of a defeat; let us dread the cruelty of our enemies; and let us fight, that we may escape them.

After this speech, which was received with general applause, the captain called to the bravest of the freebooters, and publicly ordered him to set fire to the gunpowder, on the first signal he should give him; showing, by this resolution, that they must either expect death, or defend themselves. Then extending his hand toward the enemy, *We must*, says he, *pass between their ships, and fire upon them from every side, according to your usual custom.* This plan of operation was executed with equal courage and dispatch. The ships indeed were not taken; but the crews were so reduced in number, that they either were not able, or had not courage enough, to continue the combat against a handful of resolute men, who, even in their retreat, carried away the honour of the victory. The Spanish commander atoned, by his death, for the disgrace his ignorance and cowardice had stamped upon his country. In every engagement the freebooters showed the same spirit of intrepidity.

When they had got a considerable booty, at first they held their rendezvous at the island of Tortuga, in order to divide the spoil; but afterwards the French went to St. Domingo, and the English to Jamaica. They all took an oath, that they had secreted none of the spoil. If any one among them was convicted of perjury, which seldom happened, he was left, as soon as an opportunity offered, upon some desert island, as an infamous person. The first shares of the booty were always given to those who had been maimed in any of their engagements. If they had lost a hand, an arm, or a leg, they received two hundred crowns [25l.]. An eye, or a finger, lost in fight, was valued only at half the above sum. The wounded were allowed three livres [2s. 6d.] a-day for two months, to enable them

to have their wounds taken care of. If they had not money enough to fulfil these sacred obligations, the whole company were bound to engage in some fresh expedition, and to continue it, even till they had acquired a sufficient stock to enable them to satisfy such honourable contracts.

After this act of justice and humanity, the remainder of the booty was divided. The commander, in strictness, could only lay claim to a single share as the rest; but they complimented him with two or three, in proportion as they were satisfied with his skill, valour, and conduct. When the vessel was not the property of the company, the person who had fitted it out, and furnished it with necessary arms and provisions, was entitled to a third of the prizes. Favour never had any influence in the division of the booty; for every share was rigidly determined by lot. This probity was extended even to the dead. Their share was given to their surviving companion. If the person who had been killed had none, his part was sent to his family. If there were no friends or relations, it was distributed in charity to the poor and to churches, which were to pray for the person in whose name these benefactions were given, the fruits of inhuman but necessary piratical plunder.

They afterwards indulged themselves in profusions of all kinds. Unbounded licentiousness in gaming, wine, women, every kind of debauchery was carried to the utmost pitch of excess, and was stopt only by the want which such profusions brought on. Those men who were enriched with several millions, were in an instant totally ruined, and destitute of clothes and provisions. They returned to sea, and the new supplies they acquired were soon lavished in the same manner. If these madmen were asked, what satisfaction they could find in dissipating so rapidly, what they had gained with so much difficulty? they made this very ingenuous reply: "Exposed as we are to such a va-
"riety of dangers, our life is totally different from that
"of other men. Why should we, who are alive to-
"day, and may be dead to-morrow, think of hoarding

BOOK X. " up? We reckon only the day we live, but never " think upon that which is to come. Our concern is " rather to ſquander life away, than to preſerve it."

The Spaniſh colonies, flattering themſelves with the hopes of ſeeing an end to their miſeries, and reduced almoſt to deſpair in finding themſelves a perpetual prey to theſe ruffians, grew weary of navigation. They gave up all the power, conveniences, and fortune their connections procured them, and formed themſelves almoſt into ſo many diſtinct and ſeparate ſtates. They were ſenſible of the inconveniences ariſing from ſuch a conduct, and avowed them; but the dread of falling into the hands of rapacious and ſavage men had greater influence over them than the dictates of honour, intereſt, and policy. This was the riſe of that ſpirit of inactivity which continues to this time.

This deſpondency ſerved only to increaſe the boldneſs of the freebooters. As yet they had only appeared in the Spaniſh ſettlements, in order to carry off ſome proviſions; and even this they had done very ſeldom. They no ſooner found their captures begin to diminiſh, than they determined to recover by land what they had loſt at ſea. The richeſt and moſt populous countries of the continent were plundered and laid waſte. The culture of lands was equally neglected with navigation; and the Spaniards dared no more appear in their public roads, than ſail in the latitudes which belonged to them.

Among the freebooters who ſignalized themſelves in this new ſpecies of excurſions, Montbar, a gentleman of Languedoc, particularly diſtinguiſhed himſelf. Having, by chance, in his infancy, met with a circumſtantial account of the cruelties practiſed in the New World, he conceived an averſion, which he carried to a degree of frenzy, againſt that nation that had committed ſuch enormities. Upon this point a ſtory is told of him, that when he was at college, and acting in a play the part of a Frenchman, who quarrelled with a Spaniard, he fell upon the perſon who perſonated the Spaniard with ſuch fury, that he would

have ftrangled him, had he not been refcued out of his hands. His heated imagination continually reprefented to him innumerable multitudes of people maffacred by favage monfters who came out of Spain. He was animated with an irrefiftible ardour to avenge fo much innocent blood. The enthufiafm this fpirit of humanity worked him up to, was turned into a rage more cruel than the thirft of gold, or the fanaticifm of religion, to which fo many victims had been facrificed. The manes of thefe unhappy fufferers feemed to roufe him, and call upon him for vengeance. He had heard fome account of the *brethren of the coaft*, as of the moft inveterate enemies to the Spanifh name: he therefore embarked on board a fhip in order to join them.

In the paffage they met with a Spanifh veffel, attacked it, and, as it was ufual in thofe times, immediately boarded it. Montbar, with a fabre in his hand, fell upon the enemy, broke through them, and, hurrying twice from one end of the fhip to the other, levelled every thing that oppofed him. When he had compelled the enemy to furrender, leaving to his companions the happinefs of dividing fo rich a booty, he contented himfelf with the favage pleafure of contemplating the dead bodies of the Spaniards lying in heaps together, againft whom he had fworn a conftant and deadly hatred.

Frefh opportunites foon occurred, that enabled him to exert this fpirit of revenge, without extinguifhing it. The fhip he was upon arrived at the coaft of St. Domingo. The French who were fettled in the ifland brought him only a fmall quantity of refrefhment, and alleged, in excufe, that the Spaniards had laid wafte their fettlements. " Why," replied Montbar, " do " you fuffer fuch infults?" " Neither do we," anfwered they in the fame tone; " the Spaniards have expe" rienced what kind of men we are, and have there" fore taken advantage of the time when we were en" gaged in hunting. But we are going to join fome " of our companions, who have been ftill more ill-

BOOK X. "treated than we, and then we ſhall have warm work." "If you approve it," anſwered Montbar, "I will "head you, not as your commander, but as the fore-"moſt to expoſe myſelf to danger." The Buccaneers perceiving, from his appearance, that he was ſuch a man as they wanted, cheerfully accepted his offer. The ſame day they overtook the enemy, and Montbar attacked them with an impetuoſity that aſtoniſhed the braveſt. Nothing eſcaped the effects of his fury. The remaining part of his life was equally diſtinguiſhed as this day. The Spaniards ſuffered ſo much from him, both by land and ſea, that he acquired the name of the *Exterminator*.

His ſavage diſpoſition, as well as that of the other Buccaneers who attended him, having obliged the Spaniards to confine themſelves within their ſettlements, theſe freebooters reſolved to attack them there. This new method of carrying on the war required ſuperior forces; and their aſſociations, in conſequence, became more numerous. The firſt that was conſiderable was formed by Lolonois, who derived his name from the ſands of Olone, the place of his birth. From the abject ſtate of a bondſman, he had gradually raiſed himſelf to the command of two canoes, with twenty-two men. With theſe he was ſo ſucceſsful, as to take a Spaniſh frigate on the coaſt of Cuba. A ſlave having obſerved that all the men who were wounded were put to death, and fearing leſt he ſhould ſhare the ſame fate, wanted to ſave himſelf by a perfidious declaration, but very conſiſtent with the part he had been deſtined to take. He aſſured them, that the governor of the Havannah had put him on board, in order to ſerve as executioner to all the Buccaneers he had ſentenced to be hanged, not doubting in the leaſt but they would be all taken priſoners. The ſavage Lolonois, fired with rage at this declaration, ordered all the Spaniards to be brought before him, and cut off their heads one after another, ſucking, at each ſtroke, the drops of blood that trickled down his ſabre. He then repaired to the Port-au-Prince, in which were

four ſhips, fitted out purpoſely to ſail in purſuit of him. He took them, and threw all the crews into the ſea, except one man, whom he ſaved, in order to ſend him with a letter to the governor of the Havannah, acquainting him with what he had done, and aſſuring him, that he would treat in the ſame manner all the Spaniards that ſhould fall into his hands, not excepting the governor himſelf, if he ſhould be ſo fortunate as to take him. After this expedition, he ran his canoes and prize-ſhips aground, and ſailed with his frigate only to the iſland of Tortuga.

Here he met with Michael de Baſco, who had ſo much diſtinguiſhed himſelf in having taken, even under the cannon of Porto-Bello, a Spaniſh ſhip, eſtimated at five or ſix millions of livres [from 208,333l. 6s. 8d. to 250,000l.], and by other actions equally brave and daring. Theſe two adventurers gave out, that they were going together upon ſome important project, and they were joined by four hundred and forty men. This corps, the moſt numerous the Buccaneers had yet been able to muſter, ſailed to the Bay of Venezuela, which runs up into the country for the ſpace of fifty leagues. The fort that was built at the entrance of it for its defence was taken; the cannon ſpiked, and the whole garriſon, conſiſting of two hundred and fifty men, put to the ſword. They then reimbarked, and came to Maracaybo, built on the weſtern coaſt of the lake of the ſame name, at the diſtance of ten leagues from its mouth. This city, which had become flouriſhing and rich by its trade in ſkins, tobacco, and cocoa, was deſerted. The inhabitants had retired with their effects to the other ſide of the bay. If the Buccaneers had not loſt a fortnight in riot and debauch, they would have found at Gibraltar, near the extremity of the lake, every thing that the inhabitants had ſecreted, to ſecure it from being plundered. On the contrary, they met with fortifications lately erected, which they had the uſeleſs ſatisfaction of making themſelves maſters of, at the expence of a great deal of blood; for the inhabitants had already removed at

BOOK X. a diſtance the moſt valuable part of their property. Exaſperated at this diſappointment, they ſet fire to Gibraltar. Maracaybo would have ſhared the ſame fate, had it not been ranſomed. Beſide the ſum they received for its ranſom, they alſo carried off with them all the croſſes, pictures, and bells of the churches, intending, as they ſaid, to build a chapel in the iſland of Tortuga, and to conſecrate this part of their ſpoils to ſacred purpoſes. Such was the religion of theſe barbarous people, who could make no other offering to Heaven, than that which aroſe from their robberies and plunder.

While they were idly diſſipating the ſpoils they had made on the coaſt of Venezuela, Morgan, the moſt renowned of the Engliſh freebooters, ſailed from Jamaica to attack Porto-Bello. His plan of operations was ſo well contrived, that he ſurpriſed the city, and took it without oppoſition. In order to ſecure the fort with the ſame facility, he compelled the women and the prieſts to fix the ſcaling-ladders to the walls, from a full conviction that the gallantry and ſuperſtition of the Spaniards would never ſuffer them to fire at the perſons they conſidered as the objects of their love and reverence. But the garriſon was not to be deceived by this artifice, and was only to be ſubdued by force of arms; the treaſures that were carried away from this famous port were acquired at the expence of much bloodſhed.

The conqueſt of Panama was an object of much greater importance. To ſecure this, Morgan thought it neceſſary to ſail in the latitudes of Coſta-Ricca, to procure ſome guides in the iſland of St. Catherine, to which the Spaniards tranſported their malefactors. This place was ſo ſtrongly fortified, that it ought to have ſtopped the progreſs of the moſt intrepid commander for ten years. Notwithſtanding this, the governor, on the firſt appearance of the pirates, ſent privately to concert meaſures how he might ſurrender himſelf without incurring the imputation of cowardice. The reſult of this conſultation was, that Morgan, in

the night-time, ſhould attack a fort at ſome diſtance, and that the governor ſhould ſally out of the citadel to defend this important poſt; that the beſiegers ſhould then attack him in the rear, and take him priſoner, which would conſequently occaſion a ſurrender of the place. It was agreed that a briſk firing ſhould be kept up on both ſides, without doing miſchief to either. This farce was admirably carried on. The Spaniards, without being expoſed to any danger, appeared to have done their duty; and the freebooters, after having totally demoliſhed the fortifications, and put on board their veſſels a prodigious quantity of warlike ſtores, which they found at St. Catherine's, ſteered their courſe towards the river Chagre, the only channel that was open to them, to arrive at the place which was the object of their utmoſt wiſhes.

At the entrance of this conſiderable river, a fort was built upon a ſteep rock, which the waves of the ſea conſtantly beat againſt. This bulwark, very difficult of acceſs, was defended by an officer, whoſe extraordinary abilities were equal to his courage, and by a garriſon that deſerved ſuch a commander. The freebooters, for the firſt time, here met with a reſiſtance that could only be equalled by their perſeverance: it was a doubtful point, whether they would ſucceed, or be obliged to raiſe the ſiege, when a lucky accident happened, that proved favourable to their glory and their fortune. The commander was killed, and the fort accidentally took fire: the beſiegers then, taking advantage of this double calamity, made themſelves maſters of the place.

Morgan left his veſſels at anchor, with a ſufficient number of men to guard them, and ſailed up the river in his boats for thirty-three miles, till he came to Cruces, where it ceaſes to be navigable. He then proceeded by land to Panama, which was only five leagues diſtant. Upon a large and extenſive plain that was before the city, he met with a conſiderable body of troops, whom he put to flight with the greateſt eaſe, and entered into the city, that was now abandoned.

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Here were found prodigious treafures concealed in the wells and caves. Some valuable commodities were taken upon the boats that were left aground at low water. In the neighbouring forefts were alfo found feveral rich depofits. But the party of freebooters who were making excurfions into the country, little fatisfied with this booty, exercifed the moft fhocking tortures on the Spaniards, Negroes, and Indians they difcovered, to oblige them to confefs where they had fecreted their own as well as their mafters riches. A beggar, accidentally going into a caftle that had been deferted through fear, found fome apparel that he put on. He had fcarcely dreffed himfelf in this manner, when he was perceived by thefe pirates, who demanded of him where his gold was. The unfortunate man fhowed them the ragged clothes he had juft thrown off. He was inftantly tortured; but, as he made no difcovery, he was given up to fome flaves, who put an end to his life. Thus the treafure the Spaniards had acquired in the New World by maffacres and tortures, were reftored again in the fame manner.

In the midft of fuch fcenes of horror, the favage Morgan fell in love. His character was not likely to infpire the object of his attachment with favourable fentiments towards him. He was refolved therefore to fubdue by force the beautiful Spaniard that inflamed and tormented him. *Stop*, cried fhe to this favage, as fhe fprung with eagernefs from his arms, *Stop: thinkeft thou then that thou canft ravifh my honour from me, as thou haft wrefted from me my fortune and my liberty? Be affured that I can die, and be revenged.* Having faid this, fhe drew out a poignard from under her gown, which fhe would have plunged into his heart, had he not avoided the blow.

But Morgan, ftill inflamed with a paffion which this determined refiftance had turned into rage, inftead of the tendernefs and attention he had made ufe of to prevail upon his captive, now proceeded to treat her with the greateft inhumanity. The fair Spaniard, immoveably refolute, ftimulated, at the fame time that

fhe refifted, the frantic defires of Morgan; till at laft the pirates, expreffing their refentment at being kept fo long in a ftate of inactivity, by a caprice which appeared extravagant to them, he was under the neceffity of of liftening to their complaints, and giving up his purfuit. Panama was burnt. They then fet fail with a great number of prifoners, who were ranfomed a few days after, and came to the mouth of the Chagre with a prodigious booty.

Before the break of the day that had been fixed upon for the divifion of the fpoil, Morgan, while the reft of the pirates were in a deep fleep, with the principal freebooters of his own country, failed for Jamaica, in a veffel which he had laden with the rich fpoils of a city, that ferved as the ftaple of commerce between the Old and the New World. This inftance of treachery, unheard-of before, excited a rage and refentment not to be defcribed. The Englifh purfued the robber, in hopes of wrefting from him the booty of which their right and their avidity had been fruftrated. The French, though fharers in the fame lofs, retired to the ifland of Tortuga, from whence they made feveral expeditions: but they were all trifling, till, in the year 1683, they attempted one of the greateft importance.

The plan of this expedition was formed by Van Horn, a native of Oftend, though he had ferved all his life among the French. His intrepidity would never let him fuffer the leaft figns of cowardice among thofe who were affociated with him. In the heat of an engagement he went about his fhip, fucceffively obferved his men, and immediately killed thofe who fhrank at the fudden report of a piftol, gun, or cannon. This extraordinary difcipline had made him become the terror of the coward, and the idol of the brave. In other refpects, he readily fhared with the men of fpirit and bravery the immenfe riches that were acquired by fo truly warlike a difpofition. When he went upon thefe expeditions, he generally failed in his frigate, which was his own property. But thefe new defigns

BOOK X. requiring greater numbers to carry them into execution, he took to his assistance Grammont, Godfrey, and Jonqué, three Frenchmen, distinguished by their exploits, and Lawrence de Graff, a Dutchman, who had signalized himself still more than they. Twelve hundred freebooters joined themselves to these famous commanders, and sailed in six vessels for Vera Cruz.

The darkness of the night favoured their landing, which was effected at three leagues from the place, where they arrived without being discovered. The governor, the fort, the barracks, and the posts of the greatest consequence; every thing, in a word, that could occasion any resistance, was taken by break of day. All the citizens, men, women, and children, were shut up in the churches, where they had fled for shelter. At the door of each church were placed barrels of gunpowder to blow up the building. A freebooter, with a lighted match, was to set fire to it upon the least appearance of an insurrection.

While the city was kept in such terror, it was easily pillaged; and, after the freebooters had carried off what was most valuable, they made a proposal to the citizens who were kept prisoners in the churches, to ransom their lives and liberties, by a contribution of ten millions of livres [416,666l. 13s. 4d.]. These unfortunate people, who had neither eaten nor drunk for three days, cheerfully accepted the terms that were offered them. Half of the money was paid the same day: the other part was expected from the inland parts of the country; when there appeared, on an eminence, a considerable body of troops advancing, and near the port a fleet of seventeen ships from Europe. At the sight of this armament, the freebooters, without any marks of surprise, retreated quietly with fifteen hundren slaves they had carred off with them, as a trifling indemnification for the rest of the money they expected, the settling of which they referred to a more favourable opportunity. These ruffians sincerely believed, that whatever they pillaged or exacted by

force of arms, upon the coafts where they made a defcent, was their lawful property, and that God and their arms gave them an undoubted right not only to the capital of thefe contributions they compelled the inhabitants to fign a written engagement to fulfil, but even to the intereft of that part of the fum that was not yet paid.

Their retreat was equally glorious and daring. They boldly failed through the midft of the Spanifh fleet, which let them pafs without firing a fingle gun; and were, in fact, rather afraid of being attacked and beaten. The Spaniards would not probably have efcaped fo eafily, and with no other inconvenience, but fuch as arofe from their fears, if the veffels of the pirates had not been laden with riches, or if the Spanifh fleet had been freighted with any other effects but fuch merchandife as were little valued by thefe pirates.

A year had fcarce elapfed fince their return from Mexico, when on a fudden they were all feized with the rage of going to plunder the country of Peru. They expected, undoubtedly, to find greater treafures upon a fea little frequented, than upon one fo long expofed to plunder. The French and Englifh, and even the pirate affociations of thefe two nations, projected this plan at the fame time, without having concerted it together. Four thoufand men directed their courfe to this part of the New Hemifphere. Some of them came by the continent, and others by the Straits of Magellan, to the place that was the object of their wifhes. If the intrepidity of thefe barbarians had been directed, by a fkilful and refpectable commander, to one fingle uniform end, this important colony would have been loft to Spain. But their natural character was an invincible obftacle to fo rare an union; for they always formed themfelves into feveral diftinct bodies, fometimes into fo few in number as ten or twelve, who acted together, or feparately, as the moft trifling caprice directed. Grognier, Lécuyer, Picard, and Le Sage, were the moft diftinguifhed officers among

BOOK X. the French: David, Samms, Peter, Wilner, and Towaley, among the English.

Such of those adventurers as had got into the South Sea by the Straits of Darien, seized upon the first vessels they found upon the coast. Their associates, who had sailed in their own vessels, were not much better provided. Weak, however, as they were, they beat, sunk, or took, all the ships that were fitted out against them. The Spaniards then suspended their navigations. The freebooters were continually obliged to make descents upon the coasts, to get provisions; or to go by land, in order to plunder those cities where the booty was secured. They successively attacked Seppo, Peubla-Neuvo, Leon, Reulejo, Pueblo-Viejo, Chiriquita, Esparso, Granada, Villia, Nicoya, Tecoantepec, Mucmeluna, Chuluteca, New-Segovia, and Guayaquil, the most considerable of all these places.

As Grognier was returning home from one of those rapid expeditions, he found that a defile through which he was to pass was occupied by some battalions that were intrenched, who offered not to impede his retreat, provided he would consent to release the prisoners he had taken. *If*, said he, *you would have my prisoners, you must cut their irons asunder with your sabres; with respect to my passage, my sword secures that to me.* This answer gained him a victory, and he pursued his march unmolested.

Universal terror prevailed throughout the empire; the approach of the freebooters, and even the fear of their arrival, dispersed the people. The Spaniards, grown effeminate by the most extravagant luxury, enervated by the peaceful exercise of their tyranny, and reduced to the state of their slaves, never waited for the enemy, unless they were at least twenty to one; and even then they were beaten. They retained no impression of the pride and nobility of their origin. They were so much degenerated, that they had lost all ideas of the art of war, and were even scarce

acquainted with the use of fire-arms. They were but little better than the Americans, whom they trampled upon. This extraordinary want of courage was increased, from the idea they had conceived of the ferocious men who attacked them. Their monks had drawn them with the same hideous features with which they represented devils; and they themselves had overcharged the picture. Such a representation, the offspring of a wild and terrified imagination, equally imprinted on every mind aversion and terror.

Notwithstanding the excess of their resentment, the Spaniards only recked their revenge upon their foes when they were no more able to inspire terror. As soon as the Buccaneers had quitted the place they had plundered, and if any of them had been killed in the attack, the body was digged up again, mutilated, or made to pass through the various kinds of torture that would have been practised upon the man had he been alive. This abhorrence of the freebooters was extended even to the places on which they had exercised their cruelties. The cities they had taken were excommunicated; the very walls and soil of the places which had been laid waste were anathematized, and the inhabitants abandoned them for ever.

This rage, equally impotent and childish, could on-[illegible]ontribute to embolden that of their enemies. As [illegible] as they took a town, it was directly set on fire, [illegible]less a sum proportioned to its value was given to save it. The prisoners taken in battle were massacred without mercy, if they were not ransomed by government, or by individuals: gold, pearls, or precious stones, were the only things accepted of for the payment of their ransom. Silver being too common, and too weighty in proportion to its value, would have been troublesome to them. In a word, the chances of fortune, that seldom leave guilt unpunished, nor adversity without a compensation for its sufferings, atoned for the crimes committed in the conquest of the New World, and the Indians were amply aven[illegible] Spaniards.

But it happened in this, [illegible] in events

of this nature, that thofe who committed fuch outrages did not long enjoy the fruits of them. Several of them died in the courfe of thefe piracies, from the effects of the climate, from diftrefs or debauchery. Some were fhipwrecked in paffing the Straits of Magellan, and at Cape Horn. Moft of thofe who attempted to get to the Northern Sea by land fell into the ambufcade that was laid for them, and loft either their lives or the booty they had acquired. The Englifh and French colonies gained very little by an expedition that lafted four years, and found themfelves deprived of their braveft inhabitants.

While fuch piracies were committed on the Southern Ocean, the Northern was threatened with the fame by Grammont. He was a native of Paris, by birth a gentleman, and had diftinguifhed himfelf in a military capacity in Europe; but his paffion for wine, gaming, and women, had induced him to join the pirates. His virtues, perhaps, were fufficient to have atoned for his vices. He was affable, polite, generous, and eloquent: he was endued with a found judgment, and was a perfon of approved valour, which foon made him be confidered as the chief of the French freebooters. As foon as it was known that he had taken up arms, he was immediately joined by a number of brave men. The governor of St. Domingo, who had at length prevailed upon his mafter to approve of the project, equally wi[illegible]nd juft, of fixing the pirates to fome place and inducing them to become cultivators, was defirous of preventing the concerted expedition, and forbade it in the king's name. Grammont, who had a greater fhare of fenfe than his affociates, was not on that account more inclined to comply, and fternly replied, *How can Lewis difapprove of a defign he is unacquainted with, and which hath been planned only a few days ago?* This anfwer highly pleafed all the freebooters, who directly embarked, in 1685, to attack Campeachy.

They landed without oppofition. But, at fome diftance from the coaft, they were attacked by eight hundred [illegible] were beaten, and purfu[illegible]d to

the town, where both parties entered at the fame time. The cannon they found there was immediately levelled againft the citadel. As it had very little effect, they were contriving fome ftratagem to enable them to become mafters of the place, when intelligence was brought that it was abandoned. There remained in it only a gunner, an Englifhman, and an officer of fuch fignal courage, that he chofe rather to expofe himfelf to the greateft extremities, than bafely to fly from the place with the reft. The commander of the Buccaneers received him with marks of diftinction, generoufly releafed him, gave him up all his effects, and befides complimented him with fome valuable prefents: fuch influence have courage and fidelity, even on the minds of thofe who feem to violate all the rights of fociety.

The conquerors of Campeachy fpent two months in fearching all the environs of the city, for twelve or fifteen leagues, carrying off every thing that the inhabitants, in their flight, thought they had preferved. When all the treafure they had collected from every quarter was depofited in the fhips, a propofal was made to the governor of the province, who ftill kept the field with nine hundred men, to ranfom his capital city. His refufal determined them to burn it, and demolifh the citadel. The French, on the feftival of St. Louis, were celebrating the anniverfary of their king, and, in the tranfports of their patriotifm, intoxication, and national love of their prince, they burnt to the value of a million [41,666l. 13s. 4d.] of logwood; a part, and a very confiderable one too, of the fpoil they had made. After this fingular and extravagant inftance of folly, of which Frenchmen only could boaft, they returned to St. Domingo.

The little advantage which the Englifh and French freebooters had made by their laft expeditions upon the continent [illegible] them to have recourfe to their [illegible] upon the fea. Both were [illegible] met with; [illegible] enga-

BOOK X. ged the French in that courſe, which every thin[g] rendered them diſſatisfied with.

A few enterpriſing men had fitted out, in 1697, in the ports of France, and under the ſanction of government, ſeven ſhips of the line, and a proportionate number of inferior veſſels. This fleet, commanded by Commodore Pointis, conveyed troops for landing; and its deſtination was againſt Carthagena, one of the richeſt and beſt fortified towns of the New World. It was expected that this expedition would be attended with great difficulties, but it was hoped that they would be ſurmounted, if the Buccaneers would aſſiſt in it, which they did engage to do, from motives of complaiſance to Ducaſſe, governor of St. Domingo, who was, and deſerved to be, their idol.

Theſe men, whoſe boldneſs could not be reſtrained, did ſtill more than was expected from them. No ſooner had they perceived a ſmall breach in the fortifications of the lower town, than they ſtormed the place, and planted their ſtandards upon the walls. They carried the other works with the ſame intrepidity. The town ſurrendered, and its ſubmiſſion was owing to the Buccaneers.

All kinds of enormities ſucceeded this event. The general, who was an unjuſt, covetous, and cruel man broke every article of the capitulation. Although th[e] apprehenſions of an army that was collecting in the inland country, had made him conſent that the inhabitants ſhould keep half of their moveable effects, ye[t] every thing was given up to the moſt horrible plunder. The officers were the firſt thieves; and it was not till they had gorged themſelves with the ſpoils, that the ſoldiers were ſuffered to ranſack the houſes. As for the Buccaneers, they were kept in employment out of the town, while the treaſure was ſeized.

Pointis pretended that th[e] ... did not exceed ſeven or eight millions ... [2]91,666l. 13s. 4d. to 33[3],333l. 6 ... them at 30,000 ... ,000 [1,66 ...

agreement, were to receive one quarter of the whole, whatever it might be. They were however given to underſtand, that their profit would only amount to 40,000 crowns [5000l.].

The ſhips had ſet ſail, when the propoſal was made to theſe intrepid men, who had decided the victory. Exaſperated at this treatment, which ſo evidently affected their rights, and diſappointed their expectations, they reſolved immediately to board the veſſel called *the Sceptre*, where Pointis himſelf was, and which, at that time, was too far diſtant from the reſt of the ſhips, to expect to be aſſiſted by them. This infamous commander was upon the point of being maſſacred, when one of the malcontents cried out: *Brethren, why ſhould we attack this raſcal? He hath carried off nothing that belongs to us. He hath left our ſhare at Carthagena, and there we muſt go to recover it.* This propoſal was received with general applauſe. A ſavage joy at once ſucceeded that gloomy melancholy which had ſeized them; and, without further deliberation, all their ſhips ſailed towards the city.

As ſoon as they had entered the city, without meeting with any reſiſtance, the Buccaneers ſhut up all the men in the great church, and ſpoke to them in the following words:

" We are not ignorant that you conſider us as men " void of faith and of all religion, as infernal beings " rather than men. The abhorrence you have of us " hath been manifeſted by the opprobrious terms with " which you affect to deſcribe us; and your miſtruſt " of us, by your refuſing to treat with us of your ca- " pitulation. You ſee us here armed, and capable of " avenging ourſelves. The paleneſs viſible upon your " countenances plainly ſhows that you expect the moſt " ſevere treatment; and your conſcience tells you, no " doubt, that you deſerve it. Be at length undeceiv- " ed, and acknowledge, in this inſtance, that the in- " jurious appellations with which you ſtigmatize us are " not to be applied to us, but to the infamous gene- " ral under whoſe command we lately fought. The

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"traitor to whom we have opened the gates of the city, which he would never have entered without our affiftance, hath feized upon the fpoils acquired at our hazard, and by our courage; and, by this act of injuftice, hath compelled us to return to you. Our moderation muft juftify our fincerity. We will quit your city immediately, upon your delivering 5,000,000 of livres [208,333l. 6s. 8d.] into our hands. This is the whole of our claim; and we pledge our honour to you, that we will inftantly retreat. But if you refufe us fo moderate a contribution, look at our fabres: we fwear by them that we will fpare no perfon; and when the misfortunes which threaten you fhall come upon you, and upon your wives and children, accufe none but yourfelves and the worthlefs Pointis, whom you are at liberty to load with all kinds of execrations."

After this difcourfe, a facred orator mounted the pulpit, and made ufe of the influence that his character, his authority, and his eloquence gave him, to perfuade his hearers to yield up, without referve, all the gold, filver, and jewels they had. The collection made after the fermon not furnifhing the fum required, the city was ordered to be plundered. From the houfes, they proceeded to pillage the churches, and even the tombs, but with no great fuccefs; and the inftruments of torture were at length produced.

Two of the citizens of the greateft diftinction were feized, and after them two more, in order to endeavour to extort from them, where the public money, as well as that of individuals, was concealed. They all anfwered, feparately, with fo much candour, as well as firmnefs, that they were ignorant of it, that avarice itfelf was difarmed. Some mufkets were, however, fired off, to induce a belief that thefe unfortunate men had been fhot. Every one apprehended the fame fate; and that very evening one million of livres [41,666l. 13s. 4d.] was brought in to the freebooters. The following days produced alfo fomething more. Defpairing, at length, to add any thing to what they had al-

ready amassed, they set sail. Unfortunately they fell in with a fleet of Dutch and English ships, both those nations being then in alliance with Spain, and several of their small vessels were either taken or sunk; the rest escaped to St. Domingo.

Such was the last memorable event in the history of the freebooters.

The separation of the English and French, when the war, on account of the Prince of Orange, divided the two nations; the successful means they both made use of to promote the cultivation of land in their colonies, by the assistance of these enterprising men; the prudence that was shown, in fixing the most distinguished among them, and intrusting them with civil and military employments; the protection they were under a necessity of affording successively to the Spanish settlements, which, till then, had been a general object of plunder: all these circumstances, and various others, beside the impossibility there was of supplying the place of so many extraordinary men, who were continually dropping off, concurred to put an end to the most singular society that had ever existed. Without any regular system, without laws, without any degree of subordination, and even without any fixed revenue, they became the astonishment of the age in which they lived, as they will also be of posterity. They would have subdued all America, had they been animated with the spirit of conquest, as they were with that of rapine.

England, France, and Holland, had sent, at different times, considerable fleets into the New World. The intemperance of the climate, the want of subsistence, the dejection of the troops, rendered the best-concerted schemes unsuccessful. Neither of these nations acquired any national glory, nor made any considerable progress, by them. Upon the very scene of their disgrace, and on the very spot where they were so shamefully repulsed, a small number of adventurers, who had no other resources to enable them to carry on a war, but what the war itself afforded them, succeeded in the

BOOK X. most difficult enterprifes. They fupplied the want of numbers and of power, by their activity, their vigilance, and bravery. An unbounded paffion for liberty and independence excited and kept up in them that energy of foul that enables us to undertake and execute every thing; it produced that vigour, that fuperiority in action, which the moft approved military difcipline, the moft powerful combinations of ftrength, the beft-regulated governments, the moft honourable and moft ftriking rewards and marks of diftinction, will never be able to excite.

The principle which actuated thefe extraordinary and romantic men is not eafily difcovered. It cannot be afcribed to want: the earth they trod upon offered them immenfe treafures, collected ready to their hand by men of inferior capacities. Can it then be imputed to avarice? But would they then have fquandered away in a day the fpoils acquired in a whole campaign? As they properly belonged to no country, they did not therefore facrifice themfelves for its defence, for the aggrandizing of its territories, or for the avenging of its quarrels. The love of glory, had they known it, would have prevented them from committing fuch numberlefs enormities and crimes, which caft a fhade on all their brighteft actions. Neither could a fpirit of indolence and eafe ever make men expofe themfelves to conftant fatigues, and fubmit to the greateft dangers.

What then were the moral caufes that gave rife to fo fingular a fociety as that of the freebooters? That country, where nature feems to have obtained a perpetual and abfolute power over the moft turbulent paffions, where the intemperate riot and intoxication occafioned by public feftivals was neceffary to roufe men from an habitual ftate of lethargy, where they lived fatisfied with their tedious and indolent courfe of life; that country became at once inhabited by an ardent and impetuous people, who, from the fcorching heat of their atmofphere, feemed to have carried their fentiments to the greateft excefs, and their paffions to a

gree of frenzy. While the heats of a burning climate enervated the old conquerors of the New World; while the Spaniards, who were fo reftlefs and turbulent in their own country, enjoyed, with the conquered Americans, a life habituated to eafe and dejection; a fet of men, who had come out of the moft temperate climates in Europe, went under the equator to acquire powers unknown before.

If we fhould be defirous of tracing the origin of this revolution, we fhall perceive that it arifes from the freebooters having lived under the fhackles of European governments. The fpirit of liberty being repreffed for fo many ages, exerted its power to a degree almoft inconceivable, and occafioned the moft terrible effects that were ever exhibited in the moral world. Reftlefs and enthufiaftic men of every nation joined themfelves to thefe adventurers, as foon as they heard of the fuccefs they had met with. The charms of novelty; the idea of, and defire excited by, diftant objects; the want of a change in fituation; the hopes of better fortune; the impulfe which excites the imagination to the undertaking of great actions; admiration, which eafily induces men to imitation; the neceffity of getting the better of thofe impediments that are the confequences of imprudence; the force of example; and the being equally partakers of the fame good and bad fortune among thofe who have frequently affociated together: in a word, the temporary ferment which all the elements together, with feveral accidental circumftances, had raifed in the minds of men, alternately elevated to the greateft profperity, or funk in the deepeft diftrefs, at one time ftained with blood, at another revelling in voluptuoufnefs, rendered the freebooters a people wholly diftinct in hiftory; but a people whofe duration was fo tranfient, that its glory lafted, as it were, but a moment.

We are, however, accuftomed to confider thefe ruffians with a kind of abhorrence. This they deferve, as the inftances of fidelity, integrity, difintereftednefs, and generofity they fhowed to one another, did not

BOOK X. prevent the outrages they perpetually committed against mankind. But amidst such enormities, it is impossible not to be surprised at a variety of brave and noble actions, that would have reflected honour on the most virtuous people.

Some freebooters had agreed, for a certain sum, to escort a Spanish ship, very richly laden. One of them ventured to propose to his companions to enrich themselves at once, by making themselves masters of the ship. Montauban, who was the commander of the troop, had no sooner heard the proposal, than he desired to resign the command, and to be set on shore. What! replied these brave men, would you then leave us? Is there any one among us who approves of the treachery that you abhor? A council was immediately called; and it was determined that the guilty person should be thrown upon the first coast they came to. They took an oath, that so dishonest a man should never be admitted in any expedition, in which any of the brave men present should be concerned, as they would think themselves dishonoured by such a connection. If this be not considered as an instance of heroism, must we then expect to meet with heroes in an age in which every thing great is turned into ridicule, under the idea of enthusiasm?

Accordingly, the history of past times doth not offer, nor will that of future times ever produce, an example of such an association; which is almost as marvellous as the discovery of the New World. Nothing but this event could have given rise to it, by collecting together, in those distant regions, all the men of the highest impetuosity and energy of soul that had ever appeared in our states.

Their sword, and their daring spirit, which they exercised with such terrible effect in America, was the only fortune which these men of so uncommon a stamp possessed in Europe. In America, being enemies to all mankind, and dreaded by all; perpetually exposed to the most extreme dangers, they must necessarily have considered every day as if the last of their

, and they would, consequently, dissipate their wealth in the same manner as they had acquired it. They would give themselves up to all the excesses of debauchery and profusion; and, on their return from the fight, the intoxication of their victory would accompany them in their feasts; they would embrace their mistresses in their bloody arms; they would fall asleep, for a while, lulled by voluptuous pleasures, from which they would be roused only to proceed to new massacres. As it was a matter of indifference to them whether they should leave their bodies upon the surface of the earth, or underneath the waters, they must necessarily look upon life or death with the same coolness. With a ferocious turn of mind, and a misguided conscience, destitute of connections, of relations, of friends, of fellow-citizens, of a country, and of an asylum, and without having any of those motives which moderate the ardour of bravery, by the value which they attach to existence, they must necessarily have rushed, like men deprived of sight, upon the most desperate attempts. Equally incapable of submitting to indigence or to quiet; too proud to employ themselves in common labour; they would have been the scourge of the Old, had they not been that of the New World. Had they not gone to ravage those distant countries, they would have ransacked our provinces, and would have left behind them a name famous in the catalogue of our greatest villains.

Causes that prevented the English and Dutch from making any conquest in America during the war for the Spanish succession.

America had scarce recovered from the ravages she had sustained; she had scarce begun to be sensible of the advantages she derived from the industry of the freebooters, who were now become citizens and husbandmen; when the Old World exhibited the scene of such a revolution as alarmed and terrified the New. Charles the Second, king of Spain, had just ended a life of trouble and anxiety. His subjects, persuaded that a descendant of the house of Bourbon alone was able to preserve the monarchy entire, had urged him, towards the close of his life, to appoint the duke of Anjou his successor. The idea of having the govern-

BOOK X. ment of two-and-twenty kingdoms devolve to a family that was not only his rival, but his enemy, had filled him with the most gloomy apprehensions. But after several internal struggles, and numberless marks of irresolution, he at length prevailed upon himself to show an example of justice, and greatness of soul, which the natural weakness of his character gave little reason to expect from him.

Europe, tired out, for half a century, with the haughtiness, ambition, and tyranny of Lewis XIV. exerted its combined forces to prevent the increase of a power already become too formidable. The fatal effects of a bad administration had entirely enervated the Spaniards; the spirit of superstition, and consequently of weakness, that prevailed then in France, had procured such advantages to the league, as are hardly to be paralleled in the instance of the union of several powers against a single one. This league gained an influence, that was increased by the victories, equally glorious and beneficial, it obtained every campaign. Both kingdoms were soon left without strength or fame. To add to their misfortunes, their calamities were a general object of joy, and none were touched with a sense of compassion at the miseries they experienced.

England and Holland, after having profusely lavished their blood and treasures in defence of the emperor, thought it necessary to attend to their own interests in America. This country invited them to rich as well as easy conquests. Spain, since the destruction of its galleons at Vigo, had no ships; and France, after having experienced that fatal reverse of fortune that had reduced her to the lowest ebb, had neglected her navy. This inattention was owing to a distant cause.

Lewis XIV. who, in his earlier age, was ambitious of every thing that might add to his glory, thought that something would be wanting to the splendour of his reign if he did not establish a considerable naval force. His numerous fleets were soon in a condition to balance the combined forces of England and of

land, and conveyed the terror of his name to the extremities of the globe. But he soon lost this new species of grandeur. In proportion as his inordinate ambition drew upon him fresh enemies, as he found himself obliged to maintain a greater number of troops in constant pay, as the frontiers of the kingdom were extended, and as his forts became more numerous, the number of his ships decreased. He made use of part of the funds that were destined to support his maritime power, even before his necessities obliged him to it. The frequent removals of the court, public buildings, that were either useless or too magnificent, objects of ostentation, or of mere pleasure, and various other causes equally trifling, absorbed that part of the public revenue, which ought to have been employed in his maritime armaments. From that time, this part of the power of France began to grow weak: it insensibly declined, and was entirely lost in the misfortunes of the war that was raised for the Spanish succession.

At this period, the acquisitions the Spaniards and French had made in the West Indies were not put in a state of defence. They were, therefore, the more likely soon to become the property of Great Britain and the United Provinces; the only modern nations who had established their political influence upon the principles of commerce. The vast discoveries of the Spaniards and Portuguese had given them, indeed, an exclusive possession of those treasures and productions that seemed to promise them the empire of the world, if riches could obtain it: but these nations, intoxicated as they were with the love of gold and the idea of conquest, had never in the least suspected that their possessions in the New World could support their power in the Old. The English and Dutch went into the contrary extreme; building their opinions upon the system of the influence they supposed America must necessarily give to Europe: A system which they not only misapplied, but carried to excess.

These two nations, one of which had no natural advantages, and the other very inconsiderable ones, had,

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from the earliest period, discovered the true principles of commerce, and pursued them with greater perseverance than might have been expected from the different situations they had been engaged in. Accidental circumstances having at first animated the industry of the poorest of these nations, she found herself very quickly equalled by her rival power, whose genius was more lively, and whose resources were much greater. The war, occasioned by a spirit of industry, and excited by jealousy, soon degenerated into fierce, obstinate, and bloody engagements. These were not merely such hostilities as are carried on between two different people; they resembled rather the hatred and revenge of one private man against another. The necessity they were under of uniting, in order to check and restrain the power of France, suspended these hostilities. The success they met with, which was, perhaps, too rapid and decisive, revived their former animosity. From the apprehension they were under, that each state was labouring for the aggrandizement of the other, they entirely neglected the invasion of America. Queen Anne, at length, availing herself of a favourable opportunity for concluding a separate peace, procured such advantageous terms, as gave the English a great superiority over their rivals the Dutch. From that time, England became of the greatest importance in the political system of Europe, and Holland was totally disregarded.

Remarkable activity that prevailed in the islands of America after the peace of Utrecht.

The years succeeding the peace of Utrecht revived the ideas of the golden age to the world, which would be always in a sufficient state of tranquillity, if the Europeans did not disturb its peace, by carrying their arms and their dissensions into every quarter of the globe. The fields were now no more covered with dead bodies. The harvest of the husbandman was not laid waste. The sailor ventured to sail in every sea without dread of pirates. Mothers no more saw their children forced from them, to lavish their blood at the caprice of a weak monarch or an ambitious minister. Nations did no longer unite to gratify the passions of

their ſovereigns. For ſome time, men lived together as brethren, as much, at leaſt, as the pride of princes, and the avidity of the people, would allow.

Although this general happineſs was to be attributed to thoſe who held the reins of government, yet the improvement of reaſon contributed, in ſome degree, to produce it. Philoſophy then began to lay open and recommend the ſentiments of benevolence. The writings of ſome philoſophers had been made public, or diſperſed among the people, and contributed to poliſh and refine their manners. The ſpirit of moderation had inſpired men with the love of the more uſeful and pleaſing arts of life, and abated, at leaſt, the deſire they till then had of deſtroying one another. The thirſt of blood ſeemed to be aſſuaged, and all nations, with the aſſiſtance of the diſcoveries they had made, ardently ſet about the improvement of their population, agriculture, and manufactures.

This ſpirit of activity exerted itſelf principally in the Caribbee Iſlands. The ſtates upon the continent can ſubſiſt, and even flouriſh, when the rage of war is kindled in their neighbourhood and on their frontiers; becauſe the principal object of their attention is the culture of their lands, their manufactures, their ſubſiſtence, and internal conſumptions. This is not the caſe with regard to thoſe ſettlements which different nations have formed in the great Archipelago of America. In theſe, life and property are equally precarious. None of the neceſſaries of life are the natural produce of the climate. Wearing apparel, and the inſtruments of huſbandry, are not even made in the country. All their commodities are intended for exportation. Nothing but an eaſy and ſafe communication with Africa, with the northern coaſts of the New World, but principally with Europe, can procure to theſe iſlands that free circulation of the neceſſaries of life they receive, and of thoſe ſuperfluities they give in exchange. The more the coloniſts had ſuffered from the effects of that long and dreadful commotion that had thrown every thing into confuſion, the greater was

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their vigilance in endeavouring to repair the losses their fortunes had sustained. The very hopes entertained that the general weakness would ensure a lasting tranquillity, encouraged the most cautious merchants to supply the colonists with goods in advance; a circumstance that contributed greatly to quicken the progress they made, which, notwithstanding all their care and attention, would otherwise have been very slow. These assistances ensured as well as increased the prosperity of the islands, till a storm, that had been a long time gathering, broke out in the year 1739, and disturbed the peace of the world.

The islands of America are the cause of the war in 1739. Events in that war, and the termination of it.

The English colonies, but chiefly Jamaica, had carried on a contraband trade with the Spanish settlements in the New World, which custom had long made them consider as lawful. The court of Madrid becoming better acquainted with its interests, concerted measures to put a stop to, or at least to check, this intercourse. The plan might possibly be prudent; but it was necessary it should be carried into execution with equity. If the ships that were intended to prevent this fraudulent trade had only seized upon those vessels that were concerned in it, this measure would have deserved commendation. But the abuses inseparable from violent measures, the eagerness of gain, and perhaps too, a spirit of revenge, incited them to stop, under the pretence of their carrying on a contraband trade, many ships which in reality had a legal destination.

England, whose security, power, and glory, is founded upon commerce, could not very patiently suffer even her usurpations to be restrained; but was highly incensed when she found that these hostilities were carried to an excess inconsistent with the law of nations. In London, and in the house of parliament, general complaints were made against the authors of them, and invectives against the minister who suffered them. Walpole, who had long ruled Great Britain, and whose character and abilities were better adapted to peace than war, and the Spanish council, which showed less

ſpirit as the ſtorm increaſed, concerted together terms of reconciliation. Thoſe fixed upon, and ſigned at Pardo, were not approved by a people equally inflamed by its intereſts, its reſentments, and by party ſpirit, and eſpecially by the number of political writings that were conſtantly publiſhed on the ſubject.

The ſovereign of any country, who forbids the liberty of diſcuſſing publicly matters of adminiſtration, and politics, gives an authentic atteſtation of his propenſity to tyranny, and of the impropriety of his meaſures. It is juſt as if he were to ſay to the people: "I know full as well as you do, that what I have determined upon is contrary to your liberty, your prerogatives, your intereſt, your tranquillity, and your happineſs; but I do not chooſe that you ſhould murmur at it. I will never ſuffer you to be enlightened, becauſe it is convenient to me that you ſhould remain in that ſtate of ſtupidity, which will prevent you from diſcerning my caprices, my vanity, my extravagant diſſipations, my oſtentation, the depredations of my courtiers and of my favourites, my ruinous amuſements, and my ſtill more ruinous paſſions, from the public good, which never was, is not, nor ever will be, as far as depends upon me and my ſucceſſors, any thing more than a decent pretence. Every thing I do is well done, you may either believe or not, as you chooſe; but you muſt be ſilent. I will prove to you, by all the moſt extravagant and atrocious meaſures, that I reign for myſelf alone, and neither by you nor for you. And if any one of you ſhould be raſh enough to contradict me, let him periſh in the obſcurity of a dungeon, or let him be ſtrangled, that he may for ever be deprived of the powers of committing a ſimilar act of indiſcretion; for ſuch is my will and pleaſure." In conſequence of ſuch declarations, a man of genius muſt be either ſilent or be put to death; and a nation muſt be kept in a ſtate of barbariſm, with reſpect to their religion, their laws, their morals, and their government, and in the ignorance of the moſt important things relative to

BOOK X. their real interefts, to their power, to their trade, to their fplendour, and to their felicity; while all the nations around are improving themfelves by the daring efforts, and the concurrence of numbers of enlightened men, whofe views are directed to thofe objects alone that are really worthy of their attention. The reafoning of an adminiftration, which prohibits information, is defective in every particular; the progrefs of improvement is not to be ftopt, nor even to be checked, without manifeft difadvantage. Prohibition hath no other effect than to irritate men, and to infpire them with an idea of rebellion, and to give all their writings a libellous tendency. It is doing too much honour to innocent fubjects, to be alarmed at a few pages of writing, when two hundred thoufand affaffins are ready to execute the orders of government.

England teems daily with numberlefs productions of the prefs, in which all the concerns of the nation are treated with freedom. Among thefe writings fome are judicious, written by men of underftanding, or citizens well informed and zealous for the public good. Their advice contributes to difcover to the public their true interefts, and to affift the operations of government. Few ufeful regulations of internal economy are adopted in the ftate, that have not firft been pointed out, modelled, or improved in fome of thefe writings. Unhappy are the people who are deprived of fuch an advantage.

'But it may be faid, that among the few fenfible 'men who ferve to enlighten their country, numbers 'are to be met with, who, either from a difguft to 'thofe in power, or from a defire of falling in with the 'tafte of the people, or from fome perfonal motives, 'delight in fomenting a fpirit of diffenfion and difcon-'tent. The means generally made ufe of for this 'purpofe, are to heighten the pretenfions of their coun-'try beyond their juft and legal bounds, and to make 'the people confider the fmalleft precautions taken by 'other powers for the prefervation of their poffeffions, 'as vifible encroachments. Thefe exaggerations, equal-

'ly partial and falſe, eſtabliſh prejudices, the effects of 'which occaſion the nation to be conſtantly at war 'with its neighbours. If government, from a deſire of 'preſerving the balance of juſtice between itſelf and 'other powers, ſhould refuſe to yield to popular pre-'judices, it finds itſelf, at length, compelled to it.'

The liberty of the preſs is undoubtedly attended with theſe inconveniencies; but they are ſo trifling, and ſo tranſient, when compared with the advantages reſulting from it, that they do not deſerve our notice. The queſtion is reduced to this: *Is it better that a people ſhould be in a perpetual ſtate of ſtupidity, than that they ſhould be ſometimes turbulent?* Sovereigns, if ye mean to be wicked, ſuffer your people to write; you will find men corrupt enough to ſerve you according to your evil deſires, and who will improve you in the art of a Tiberius. If ye mean to be good, permit them alſo to write; you will find ſome honeſt men who will improve you in the art of a Trajan. How many things are ye ſtill ignorant of, before ye can become great, either in good or in evil.

The mob of London, the moſt contemptible of any in the univerſe, as the people of England conſidered in a political view are the firſt people in the world, abetted by twenty thouſand young men, the ſons of diſtinguiſhed merchants, beſet the parliament houſe with clamours and threats, and influence its deliberations. Such tumults are frequently excited by a party in the parliament itſelf. Theſe deſpicable men, once rouſed, revile the moſt reſpectable citizen, who hath incurred their diſpleaſure, and been rendered ſuſpicious to them: they ſet fire to his houſe, and ſcandalouſly inſult the moſt ſacred characters. The tumult can never be appeaſed, unleſs they force the miniſtry to yield to their fury. This indirect, though continual influence of commerce upon the public meaſures, was, perhaps never ſo ſenſibly felt as at the period we are ſpeaking of.

England began the war with much ſuperior advantages. She had a great number of ſailors on foot. Her

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magazines were filled with warlike ftores, and her dock-yards were in the moft flourifhing condition. Her fleets were all manned and ready for fervice, and commanded by experienced officers, who waited only for orders to fet fail, and to fpread the terror and glory of her flag to the extremities of the world. Walpole, by neglecting fuch great advantages, muft not be cenfured as having betrayed his country. In this particular he is above fufpicion, fince he was never even accufed of corruption, in a country where fuch charges have been often made without being believed. His conduct, however, was not entirely irreproachable. The apprehenfion he was under of involving himfelf in difficulties that might endanger his adminiftration; the neceffity he found of applying thofe treafures in military operations, that he had amaffed to bribe and fecure to himfelf a party, joined to that of impofing new taxes, which muft neceffarily raife to the higheft degree the averfion that had been entertained both for his perfon and principles: all thefe, and fome other circumftances, occafioned an irrefolution in his conduct that was attended with the moft fatal confequences. He loft time, which is of the utmoft importance in every expedition, but particularly decifive in all naval operations.

The fleet that Vernon commanded, after having deftroyed Porto-Bello, was unfuccefsful at Carthagena, rather from the badnefs of the climate, and the mifunderftanding and inexperience of the officers, than from the valour of the garrifon. Anfon's fleet was loft at the doubling of Cape Horn, which fome months fooner might have been performed without danger. If we were to judge of what he might have done with his whole fquadron, from what he actually performed with a fingle fhip, it is not improbable but that he would at leaft have fhaken the empire of the Spaniards in the South Sea. A fettlement that was attempted in the ifland of Cuba was not profperous. Thofe who intended building a city there all died. General Oglethorpe, after having opened the trenches for thirty-

eight days, was forced to raiſe the ſiege of Fort St. Auſtin in Florida, vigorouſly defended by Manuel Montiano, who had been allowed time enough to prepare himſelf againſt the attack.

Though the firſt efforts of the Engliſh againſt Spaniſh America were not ſucceſsful, yet the alarm was not appeaſed. The navy, the character, and government of the Engliſh, were three great reſources they had ſtill left, ſufficient to make the Spaniards tremble. In vain did France unite her naval powers, to act in conjunction with thoſe of Spain. This confederacy neither checked the intrepidity of the common enemy, nor animated the minds of ſuch as were overwhelmed with fear. Fortunately for both nations, as well as for America, the death of the Emperor Charles the VI. had kindled in Europe an obſtinate war, in which the Britiſh troops were detained, to ſupport an intereſt that was extremely doubtful. The hoſtilities, commenced in diſtant countries with ſuch great preparations, terminated at laſt inſenſibly in a few piracies that were committed on both ſides. The moſt remarkable event that happened at that time was the taking of Cape-Breton, which expoſed the fiſhery, commerce, and colonies of France, to the greateſt dangers. This valuable poſſeſſion was reſtored to the French at the peace; but the treaty that gave it up was not leſs the object of cenſure.

The French, ever influenced by a ſpirit of chivalry, that hath ſo long been the dazzling folly of all Europe, imagine the ſacrifice of their lives ſufficiently compenſated, if it hath contributed to extend the frontiers of their country; that is to ſay, when they have compelled their prince to the neceſſity of governing them with leſs attention and equity than he did before; but if their territory remains the ſame as it was before the war, they then think their honour is loſt. This rage for conqueſt, excuſable indeed in a barbarous age, but which more enlightened ones ſhould never be reproached with, threw diſgrace on the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, which reſtored to Auſtria all the places that

BOOK X. had been taken from her. The nation, too trifling and capricious to attend to political difcuffions, could not be convinced, that, by forming any kind of eftablifhment for the Infant Don Philip, an alliance with Spain was effectually fecured: that fhe herfelf was thereby engaged to adjuft, with the houfe of Auftria, fome interefts of the greateft importance: that, by becoming guarantees to the king of Pruffia for Silefia, two rival powers would, in confequence of fuch an arrangement, be formed in Germany; to produce which happy effect had been the labour and care of two centuries: that, by reftoring Friburg, and thofe towns in Flanders that had been deftroyed, they would be eafily retaken, if war fhould again be declared, and carried on with vigour; befides, that the number of land forces might always be very eafily diminifhed of fifty thoufand men, and the faving which fuch a reduction would produce, might and ought to have been employed in increafing the navy.

If, therefore, the French nation had not even been obliged to attend to the management of its affairs at home, which were then in a very alarming ftate; if her credit and commerce had not been entirely ruined; if fome of her moft confiderable provinces had not been in the greateft diftrefs; if fhe had not loft the key of Canada; if her colonies had not been threatened with certain and immediate invafion; if her navy had not been fo entirely deftroyed, as fcarcely to have a fhip left to fend into the New World; and if Spain had not been upon the point of concluding a feparate treaty with England: independent of all thefe circumftances, yet the peace that was then made would have deferved the approbation of the moft fenfible and judicious men.

The eafe with which Marfhal Saxe could penetrate into the internal provinces of the Netherlands, was an object that particularly attracted the French. It will readily be allowed, that nothing feemed impoffible to the victorious arms of Lewis XV.; but it may be thought paradoxical to affert, that the Englifh were

extremely defirous of feeing the Dutch fubdued. If the republic, which could not poffibly feparate itfelf from its allies, had been conquered, its inhabitants, filled as they were with ancient, as well as prefent prejudices againft the government, laws, manners, and religion of their conqueror, would hardly have fubmitted to his dominion. Would they not certainly have conveyed their people, their ftock, and their induftry to Great Britain? And can there be the leaft doubt, whether fuch confiderable advantages would not have been infinitely more valuable to the Englifh, than an alliance with the Dutch?

To this obfervation let us venture to add another, which, though not attended to before, will, perhaps, not feem lefs evident. The court of Vienna hath been thought either very fortunate, or very fkilful, in having been able, by the means of negotiations, to wreft out of the hands of the French thofe places which had been taken from them during the war. But would they not have been more fortunate, or more fkilful, had they fuffered their enemy to keep part of the conquefts they had obtained? The period is now paffed, when the houfe of Auftria was equal, or, perhaps, fuperior in ftrength to the houfe of Bourbon. Policy, therefore, fhould have engaged her to intereft other powers in her fortune, even from the loffes fhe had fuftained. This might have been effected, by facrificing fomething, apparently at leaft, to France. Europe, alarmed at the increafing power of this monarchy, which is naturally an object of hatred, envy, and fear, would have renewed that fpirit of animofity that had been fworn againft Lewis XIV.; and more formidable leagues would neceffarily have been formed in confequence of fuch fentiments. This general difpofition of the people was more likely to have recovered the greatnefs of the new houfe of Auftria, than the re-acquifition of a diftant and limited territory, always open to an attack.

It is probable, however, that the French plenipotentiary who managed the negotiation, as well as the

BOOK X. minifter who directed it, would have feen through the artifice. We do not even fcruple to affert, that neither of thefe ftatefmen had any view of extending the French dominions. But would they have found the fame penetration to unravel political defigns in the council, to which they were refponfible for their conduct? This is a point we cannot prefume to determine. All governments are generally inclined to extend their territories; and that of France is, from its conftitution, equally fo.

But whatever truth there may be in thefe reflections, it muft be allowed, that the expectations of the two French minifters, who fettled the peace, were difappointed. The principal object they had in view was the prefervation of the colonies that had been threatened by the enemy. But as foon as the danger was over, this unbounded fource of opulence was neglected. France kept on foot a large body of troops, retained in her pay a great part of Germany, and acted in the fame manner as if another Charles V. had threatened her frontiers, or another Philip II. could have thrown the internal parts of the kingdom into confufion by his intrigues. She was not fenfible that her fuperiority upon the continent was acknowledged; that no fingle power could venture to attack her; and that the event of the laft war, and the arrangements fettled by the laft peace, had rendered the union of feveral powers againft her impoffible. A number of apprehenfions, equally weak and trifling, difturbed her tranquillity. Her prejudices prevented her from perceiving that fhe had only one enemy really deferving her attention, and that this enemy could only be reftrained by a confiderable fleet.

The Englifh, more inclined to envy the profperity of others than to enjoy their own, are not only defirous of becoming rich, but of being exclufively fo. Their ambition is gain, as that of the Romans was empire. They do not properly feek to extend their dominion, but their colonies. Commerce is the fole object of all the wars they are engaged in, and the de-

fire of engroffing it all to themfelves hath made them perform many great actions, and commit the moft flagrant acts of injuftice, and obliges them to perfevere in the fame conduct. Will the nations never be tired of that fpecies of tyranny which fets them at defiance, and degrades them? Will they perpetually continue in that ftate of weaknefs which compels them to fubmit to a defpotifm they would be very defirous of annihilating? If they fhould ever form an alliance among themfelves, how could one fingle power be able to refift them, unlefs deftiny were always in its favour, which it would be very imprudent to depend upon? Who is it that hath enfured eternal profperity to the Englifh? and if it could be enfured to them, would it not be too dearly purchafed by the lofs of a tranquillity which they could never enjoy? and would they not be too feverely punifhed for it, by the alarms of a fpirit of jealoufy which ever obliges them to keep an anxious and watchful eye upon the flighteft movements of the other powers? Is it very glorious; is it very pleafing; is it very advantageous; and is it very fafe, for one nation to reign in the midft of others, as a fultan in the midft of his flaves? Will a dangerous increafe of outward enmity be fufficiently compenfated by the baneful increafe of inward opulence? Englifhmen, avidity knows no bounds; but patience hath its end, which is almoft always fatal to thofe who urge it to that extreme. But the paffion for trade exerts fuch influence over you, that even your philofophers are governed by it. The celebrated Mr. Boyle ufed to fay, that it would be a commendable action to preach Chriftianity to the favages, becaufe, were they to know only fo much of it as would convince them of their obligation to wear clothes, it would prove of great fervice to the Englifh manufactures.

America was the caufe of the war in 1755.

A fyftem of this nature, which the Englifh have fcarce ever loft fight of, difcovered itfelf more openly in 1755, than it had ever done before. The rapid improvements made in the French colonies furprifed every attentive mind, and awakened the jealoufy of the En-

BOOK X. glish. Ashamed, however, to let it appear at first, they concealed it for some time under mysterious disguises; and a people who have pride or modesty enough to term negotiations the *artillery of their enemies*, did not scruple to employ all the windings and artifices of the most insidious policy.

France, alarmed at the confused state of her finances, intimidated by the small number of her ships, and the inexperience of her admirals; seduced by a love of ease, pleasure, and tranquillity, favoured the attempts that were made to deceive her. In vain did some able statesmen continually urge, that Great Britain was, and ought to be, desirous of a war; and that she was compelled to begin it, before the naval establishment of her rival had attained to the same degree of perfection as her trading navy. These causes of apprehension seemed absurd in a country where trade had been hitherto carried on by a spirit of imitation only; where it had been shackled by every species of restraint, and always sacrificed to finance; where it had never met with any real encouragement, and where men knew not, perhaps, that they were in possession of the most valuable and richest commerce in the world. A nation, that was indebted to nature for a most excellent soil; to chance for her colonies; to the vivacity and pliancy of her disposition, for a taste in those arts which vary and increase the enjoyments of life; to her conquests and her literary merit, and even to the dispersion of the Protestants she had unfortunately lost, for the desire excited in other countries of imitating her: this nation, that would be too happy, were she permitted to enjoy her happiness, would not perceive that she might be deprived of some of these advantages, and insensibly fell a sacrifice to those arts employed to lull her into security. When the English thought there was no further occasion to dissemble, they commenced hostilities, without having previously paid any attention to those formalities that are in use among civilized people.

Did the nation, which is reckoned so proud, so hu-

mane, and ſo prudent, reflect upon what was doing? It reduced the moſt ſacred conventions of nations among themſelves, to the artifices of a perfidious policy; it freed them from the common tie that connects them, by diſcarding the chimerical idea of the right of nations. Did theſe people perceive, that they were fixing a conſtant ſtate of war; that they were making peace a time of apprehenſion only; that they were introducing on the globe nothing but a falſe and deceitful ſecurity; that ſovereigns were becoming ſo many wolves, ready to devour each other; that the empire of diſcord was becoming unbounded; that the moſt cruel and moſt unjuſt *repriſals* were authoriſed; and that arms were no longer to be laid aſide? At that time there was a half Themiſtocles in the miniſtry; but there was not one Ariſtides in all Great Britain; ſince, far from exclaiming, in imitation of the Athenians, who were not themſelves the moſt ſcrupulous men among the Greeks: *The thing is uſeful, but it is not honeſt; let it be mentioned no more:* the Engliſh, on the contrary, congratulated themſelves upon an ignominious act, againſt which the voice of all Europe was raiſed with indignation. Acts of hoſtility, without a declaration of war, when there is even no treaty of peace ſubſiſting, is the proceeding of barbarians. Hoſtilities, againſt the faith of treaties, but preceded by a declaration of war, by what pretence ſoever it may be palliated, would be a diſguſting act of injuſtice, if the habit of it had not been frequent, and if the ſhame of it did not light upon almoſt all the powers. Hoſtilities, without a declaration of war, againſt a neighbouring people, who are quietly repoſing themſelves upon the faith of treaties, upon the right of nations, upon a reciprocal intercourſe of good-will, upon civilized manners, upon the ſame God, upon the ſame worſhip, upon the reciprocal reſidence and protection granted to the citizens of both nations in their reſpective countries: ſuch hoſtilities are a crime, which, in every ſociety, would be treated as murder on the highway; and if there were any expreſs code againſt it, as there

is a tacit one, formed and fubfcribed to between all nations, we fhould then read the following fentence: LET US ALL UNITE AGAINST THE TRAITOR, AND LET HIM BE EXTERMINATED FROM THE FACE OF THE EARTH. The nation that commits fuch a crime, purfues its intereft with unbounded and fhamelefs jealoufy; it fhows that it is deftitute of equity and honour; that it defpifes equally the judgment of the prefent time, and the cenfure of pofterity; and that it hath more regard for its exiftence among nations, than for the colours it will be painted in in their hiftory. If it be the ftrongeft, it is a mean tyrant; it is a lion, which debafes itfelf to act the abject part of a fox. If it be the weakeft, and be apprehenfive for itfelf, it may, perhaps, be lefs odious, but it is equally bafe. How much more noble, and how much more advantageous, was the cuftom of the Roman people! Let us open, as they did, the gates of our temples; let an ambaffador be fent to the enemy's frontiers, and there let him declare war, by fhaking the fkirts of his garments, at the found of the trumpet of the herald that attends him. Let us not maffacre an enemy that fleeps. If we dip our hand into the blood of him who thinks himfelf our friend, the ftain of it will never be wiped off. It will always call to mind the Macbeth of the poet.

Though a declaration of war were only a mere ceremony between nations, which feem to be bound by no ties as foon as they intend to maffacre one another, yet it is very evident, that the Britifh miniftry were more than doubtful of the injuftice of their conduct. The timidity of their meafures, the perplexity of their operations, the prevaricating modes of juftification they adopted, and the influence they in vain exerted to make parliament approve fo fcandalous a violation; thefe, with feveral other circumftances, plainly difcovered the guilt of their proceeding. If thofe weak minifters of fo great a power had been as bold in committing crimes, as they appeared regardlefs of the laws of virtue, they would have formed a project of the moft extenfive nature. When they unjuftly gave orders to

attack all the French ſhips upon the northern coaſt of America, they would have extended theſe orders to every ſea. The ruin of the only power that was capable of making any reſiſtance, would have been the neceſſary conſequence of ſuch a ſtrong confederacy. Its fall would have intimidated all other nations; and, wherever the Engliſh flag had appeared, it would have commanded obedience in every quarter of the world. A ſucceſs ſo remarkable and deciſive would have made the multitude overlook the violation of public right, would have juſtified it to the political world, and the remonſtrances of the wiſe would have been loſt in the clamours of the ignorant and ambitious.

The beginning of the war is unfavourable to the Engliſh.

A timid, but equally unjuſtifiable conduct, was attended with very contrary effects. The council of George II. was hated, as well as deſpiſed, over all Europe; and the events correſponded to theſe ſentiments. France, though unexpectedly attacked, was victorious in Canada, gained conſiderable advantages by ſea, took Minorca, and threatened London itſelf. Her rival was then ſenſible of the truth of what men of underſtanding had long ſince obſerved in England, that the French united the greateſt contrarieties in their character; that they blended virtues and vices, marks of weakneſs and ſtrength that had always been thought inconſiſtent with each other; that they were brave, though effeminate; equally addicted to pleaſure and glory; ſerious in trifles, and trifling in matters of importance; ever diſpoſed to war, and ready to attack: in a word, mere children, ſuffering themſelves, as the Athenians of old, to be diſquieted and moved to anger for real or imaginary intereſts; fond of enterpriſe and action, ready to follow any guide, and comforted in the greateſt misfortunes with the moſt trifling ſucceſs. The Engliſh, who, according to a vulgar though ſtrong expreſſion of Swift's, are *always in the cellar or in the garret*, and know no medium, began then to be too much afraid of a nation that they had unjuſtly deſpiſed. A ſpirit of deſpondency ſucceeded to that of preſumption.

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The nation, corrupted by the too great confidence it had placed in its opulence; humbled by the introduction of foreign troops, and by the moral character and inability of its governors; weakened too by the collision of factions, which keep up an exertion of strength among a free people in times of peace, but which destroy their power in times of war; the nation, disgraced, astonished, and uncertain what measures to pursue; equally sensible of the distresses it had already been exposed to, as of those it foresaw, was incapable of exerting itself to avenge the one or prevent the other. All zeal for the common cause was confined to the granting of immense supplies. That the coward is sooner disposed to part with his money than the brave man, in order to ward off danger; and that the present critical situation of affairs required them not to consider who should pay, but who should stand forward to fight; these were truths, which, at that time, seemed to have been forgotten.

The French, on their part, were dazzled with some instances of success that were of no consequence. Presuming that the surprise their enemies had been thrown into was a proof of their weakness, they involved themselves further than was consistent with their interest in the disturbances which then began to divide the German powers.

A system, which, if unsuccessful, must have been attended with the greatest disgrace, and, if fortunate, must have been destructive in the end, served to confound them. Their levity made them forget, that a few months before they had applauded the wise and enlightened statesman, who, being desirous to avoid a land war, which some ministers were willing to enter into, from their despairing of success at sea, had, with the vivacity and confidence peculiar to genius, addressed himself to them in the following words: *Gentlemen*, said he, *let us all, who are here present in council, go out, with torches in our hands, and set fire to all our ships, if they are useless to our defence, and are only conducive to make our enemies insult us.* This political in-

fatuation threw them into the greateſt difficulties. Errors of the cabinet were followed by military faults. The management of the army was ſubjected to the intrigues of the court. A ſeries of bad ſucceſs was the conſequence of a perpetual change of commanders. This light and ſuperficial nation did not perceive, that, even ſuppoſing, what indeed was impoſſible, that all thoſe who were ſucceſſively intruſted with the direction of the military operations had really been men of abilities, yet they could not contend with advantage againſt a man of genius, aſſiſted by one of diſtinguiſhed capacity. Misfortunes made no alteration in the plan that had been formed, and the changes of generals were endleſs.

While the French were thus deceived, the Engliſh, from a ſpirit of dejection, were inflamed with the utmoſt reſentment: they changed a miniſter who had juſtly excited general diſſatisfaction, and placed at the head of affairs a man who was equally an enemy to timid meaſures, to the royal prerogative, and to France. Although this choice was the conſequence of that ſpirit of party which cauſes the greateſt revolutions in England, yet it was ſuch as the circumſtances of the times required. William Pitt had a ſoul formed for great deſigns; was diſtinguiſhed by a ſpecies of eloquence that never failed to captivate his hearers, and by a character equally firm and enterpriſing. He was ambitious to make his country riſe ſuperior to all others, and at the ſame time to raiſe his own fame. His enthuſiaſm fired a nation which will always be inſpired by a love of liberty. The admiral who had ſuffered Minorca to be taken was arreſted, thrown into priſon, accuſed, tried, and ſentenced to death. Neither his rank, abilities, family, nor friends, could protect him from the rigour of the law. His own ſhip was fixed upon as the ſpot where the ſentence paſſed upon him was to be put in execution. All Europe, at the news of this melancholy event, was ſtruck with aſtoniſhment, blended with admiration and horror. It recalled the memory of the ancient republics. The death

BOOK X. of Byng, whether guilty or not, proclaimed, in the most alarming manner, to those who were employed by the nation, what fate they must expect, if they betrayed the confidence reposed in them. Every man said to himself, in the instant of battle, It is on this field I must die, rather than with infamy on a scaffold. Thus the blood of one man, accused of cowardice, was productive of a spirit of heroism.

This system of holding out an example of terror to subdue the impressions of fear, was further strengthened by an emulation, that seemed to promise the revival of public spirit. Dissipation, pleasure, indolence, and often vice and a corruption of manners, occasion warm and frequent connections in most kingdoms of Europe. The English have less intercourse and connection with each other; they have, perhaps, less taste for social life than other nations; but the idea of any project that may be serviceable to the state immediately unites them, and they seem, as it were, animated by one soul. All ranks, parties, and sects, contribute to insure its success, and with such liberality as cannot be paralleled in those places where the notion of a particular native country does not prevail.

And, in fact, why should we be concerned for the glory of a nation, when we can expect no other return for the sacrifices we make, than an increase of misery; when victories and defeats are equally fatal; victories, by giving rise to taxes to pave the way for them; and defeats, by occasioning taxes to repair them? If there were not some little remains of honour subsisting in us, in spite of all the efforts that are made use of to stifle it, and which proves, that, under vexations of every kind, the people still retain some feeling for the disgrace of the nation, they would be equally affected with its prosperity or its misfortunes. Will they experience better treatment, whether the sovereign be victorious or conquered; whether he acquire or lose a province; whether trade should fall or prosper? The zeal of the English is more remarkably distinguished when the nation hath placed an implicit confidence in

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the minifter who hath the direction of public meafures. As foon as Mr. Pitt was made prime minifter, a marine fociety was eftablifhed, which, perceiving that there appeared a remiffnefs in general to enter into the fea fervice, and difapproving the cuftom of preffing men into it, invited the children of the pooreft clafs in the three kingdoms to become fhip boys, and their fathers failors. They undertook to pay the expences of their voyage; to take care of them in ficknefs; to feed, clothe, and furnifh them with every thing neceffary to preferve their health during the time they were to be at fea. The king, moved by this inftance of patriotifm, gave them 22,500 livres [937l. 10s.], the prince of Wales 9000 livres [375l.], and the princefs of Wales 4500 [187l. 10s.]. The actors of the different theatres, whofe abilities have not been treated with contempt by this enlightened nation, acted their beft plays for the increafe of fo refpectable an eftablifhment. The theatres were never fo much crowded as on this occafion. A hundred of thefe fhip boys, and a hundred of the failors, clothed from a zeal that may truly be holden facred, appeared upon the ftage; a decoration this, furely, not inferior to that arifing from the multitude of lights, the elegance of drefs, and the brilliancy of jewels.

The Englifh are roufed from their lethargy, and feize the French and Spanifh iflands. Account of the author of thefe fucceffes.

This public zeal, and attachment to the interefts of the nation, animated the minds of all the Englifh, and the effects of it were difplayed in the difference of their conduct. They ravaged the coafts of their enemies; beat them every where by fea; intercepted their navigation, and gave a check to all their forces in Weftphalia. They drove them out of North America, Africa, and the Eaft Indies. Till Mr. Pitt became minifter, all the expeditions of the nation, made in diftant countries, had been unfuccefsful, and muft neceffarily have been fo, becaufe they had been ill-concerted. He, on the contrary, planned fuch prudent and ufeful defigns; his preparations were conducted with fo much forefight and difpatch; his means were fo well adapted to the ends he wanted to obtain; he made fuch a prudent

BOOK X. choice of the persons whom he intrusted with his designs; he established such harmony between the land and sea forces, and raised the spirits of the English to such a height, that his whole administration was a series of conquests. His mind, still superior to his glory, made him despise the idle clamours of those who censured what they called his profusions. He used to say with Philip, father of Alexander the Great, *That victory was to be purchased by money, and that money must not be spared at the expence of victory.*

By such a conduct, and such principles, Mr. Pitt had at all times, and in all places, triumphed over the French. He pursued them to their most valuable islands, even to their sugar colonies. These possessions, so justly prized for their riches, were not, however, better secured. The fortifications that were erected there were constructed without judgment, and were falling to decay. These ruins were equally destitute of defenders, of arms, and of ammunition. Ever since the beginning of hostilities, all intercourse between these great settlements and the mother-country had been at an end. They could neither receive subsistence from it, nor enrich it with their productions. The buildings necessary for the carrying on of agriculture, were a heap of ruins. The masters and the slaves, equally destitute of the necessaries of life, were obliged to feed upon the cattle destined for the labours of husbandry. If any rapacious navigators ever reached them, it was through so many dangers, that the colonists were obliged to pay for what they bought of these traders at a very advanced price, and to give them in exchange whatever they consented to take from them at the lowest. Though the colonists did not call in the aid of any foreign power to their assistance, yet it was not to be expected, that their attachments to their mother-country would induce them to make a vigorous defence against an enemy that might put an end to their distresses.

In this situation of affairs, ten ships of the line, some bomb-ketches and frigates, with five thousand land-

forces, failed from England, and arrived at Guadalupe. They appeared before the town on the 22d of January 1759, and the next day bombarded the town of Baffe-Terre. If the befiegers had known how to take advantage of the terror they had fpread, the ifland would have made a very fhort refiftance: but the flownefs, timidity, and irrefolution of their operations afforded the garrifon and the inhabitants leifure to fortify themfelves in a pafs that was only at the diftance of two leagues from the place. From this fpot they ftopped the progrefs of the enemy, who were equally diftreffed from the heat of the climate and the want of provifions. The Englifh, defpairing of making themfelves mafters of the colony on this fide, proceeded to attack it in another quarter, known by the name of Grande-Terre. It was defended by a fort called Fort Lewis, which made ftill lefs refiftance than that of Baffe-Terre, that had furrendered in four-and-twenty hours. The conquerors were again guilty of the error they had before fallen into, and fuffered the fame inconveniencies from it. The event of the expedition began to be doubtful, when Barrington, who fucceeded to the command at the death of Hopfon, changed the plan of operations. He gave up the idea of penetrating into the country, and re-embarked his foldiers, who fucceffively attacked the houfes and villages upon the coafts. The ravages they committed obliged the colonifts to fubmit. The whole ifland, after three months defence, furrendered on the 21ft day of April, upon very honourable terms of capitulation.

The troops that had obtained this victory did not engage in this expedition, till they had ineffectually threatened Martinico. Three years after, Great Britain revived a defign that had been too haftily given up; but greater preparations and more effectual means were employed to carry it into execution. On the 16th of January 1762, eighteen battalions, under the command of general Monckton, and eighteen fhips of the line commanded by admiral Rodney, the firft fent from North America, and the latter from Europe, ap-

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peared before the capital of the iſland. The landing of the troops the next day was ſoon effected, without difficulty and without loſs. To take poſſeſſion of the eminences that were fortified and defended by Fort Royal, ſeemed to be a matter not ſo eaſily accompliſhed. Theſe obſtacles, however, were, after ſome warm engagements, ſurmounted, and the place, that would ſoon have been reduced to aſhes by the bombs, capitulated on the 9th of February; and the whole colony did the ſame on the 13th. It is probable that the proſperity of Guadalupe under the Britiſh government, contributed to bring about this general ſurrender; which might, and ought to have been delayed longer. Granada and the other Leeward Iſlands, whether ſubject to France, or which, though peopled by Frenchmen, were neutral, ſurrendered themſelves, without making any reſiſtance.

Even St. Domingo, the only poſſeſſion the French ſtill retained in the Archipelago of America, was likely to fall into the hands of the Engliſh; and its loſs ſeemed to be not far diſtant. If it had not even been known that this was the firſt conqueſt Great Britain would attempt, yet it could not be ſuppoſed that it would eſcape its avidity. Would this ambitious nation have checked the career of its own ſucceſſes ſo far as to give up all thoughts of a conqueſt that would have completed its proſperity? This was a point that ſeemed not to admit of a doubt. The colony was generally known to be entirely without any means of defence, either within or without, and therefore incapable of making the leaſt reſiſtance. It was ſo ſenſible of its weakneſs, that it ſeemed diſpoſed to ſurrender as ſoon as it ſhould be ſummoned to do it.

The court of Verſailles was equally aſtoniſhed and alarmed at the loſſes it had ſuſtained, and at thoſe it foreſaw. It had expected ſuch an obſtinate reſiſtance as would have been ſuperior to every attack. The deſcendants of thoſe brave adventurers, who had ſettled theſe colonies, ſeemed a rampart ſufficient to repel all the forces of the Britiſh empire. They almoſt felt a

fecret fatisfaction that the Englifh were directing their efforts towards that quarter. The miniftry had infpired the nation with the fame confidence that poffeffed them, and it was the mark of a bad citizen to fhow the leaft uneafinefs.

It is an obfervation we may now be permitted to make, that events, which have once happened, will happen again. A people whofe whole fortune confifts in fields and paftures, will, if influenced by any degree of fpirit, refolutely defend their poffeffions. The harveft of one year is the utmoft they can lofe, and whatever calamity they may experience, does not diftrefs them to fuch a degree as to leave them without hopes of recovery. The cafe is very different with regard to the wealthy cultivators of thefe colonies. Whenever they take up arms, they run the rifk of having the labours of their whole lives deftroyed, their flaves carried off, and all the hopes of their pofterity either loft by fire or plunder: they will therefore always fubmit to the enemy. Though fatisfied with the government under which they live, they are lefs attached to its glory than to their own riches.

The example of the firft colonifts, whofe perfeverance could not be fhaken by the moft vigorous attacks, does not affect the truth of this obfervation. The object of the war was then the acquifition of territory, and the expulfion of the inhabitants; at prefent, a war waged againft a colony is directed only againft the fovereign of it.

The plan of attacking Martinico was laid by Mr. Pitt, though he was not in the miniftry when it was fubdued. The refignation of this great man drew the attention of Europe, and deferves to be confidered by every one, who inveftigates the caufes and effects of political revolutions. An hiftorian, who ventures to write the tranfactions of his own age, hath feldom, it muft be granted, fufficient lights to guide him. The councils of kings are fo fecret, that time alone can gradually withdraw the veil that furrounds them. Their minifters, faithful depofitaries of the fecrets they have

BOOK X. been intrufted with, or interefted to conceal them, explain themfelves no further than is fufficient to miflead the curious inquirer, who wifhes to difcover them. Whatever penetration he may poffefs, in tracing the fource and connection of events, he is at laft reduced to conjecture. If his conjectures happen to be juft, ftill he is ignorant that they are fo, or cannot depend upon them; and this uncertainty is fcarcely more fatisfactory than a total ignorance. He muft therefore wait till prudence and intereft, freed from the reftraint of filence, fhall unfold the truth; in a word, till fome valuable and original records be produced for public infpection, wherein the latent fprings on which the deftiny of nations hath depended, fhall be difcovered.

Thefe reflections fhould fufpend the inquiries of the man who wants only to attend to the progrefs of political intrigues. They are diffolved as foon as they are formed. We could only collect feparate parts of them, which could not be brought together unlefs by conjecture, which might be the further diftant from the truth, in proportion as more fagacity had been difplayed in the forming of it. We fhould often be likely to fill up with fome great view, or with fome profound fpeculation, a vacancy which prefents itfelf, from our ignorance of fome witticifm, of fome frivolous caprice, of fome trifling refentment, or of fome childifh emotion of jealoufy: for thefe are the wonderful levers with which the earth hath fo often been moved, and will ftill be moved hereafter. If it be then prudent to fay nothing of the obfcure caufes of events, it is at leaft the time to fpeak of the character of thofe who have conducted them. We know what they were in their infancy, in their youth, in a more mature age, in their family and in fociety, in private life, and in public affairs. We know what their natural and acquired talents were; their ruling paffions, their vices, their virtues, their inclinations, and their averfions; their connections, their animofities, and their friendfhips; their perfonal and relative interefts; the marks of favour or difgrace they have experienced; the means they have

employed to obtain their high poſts, and to maintain themſelves in them; the conduct they have obſerved with regard to their protectors and their dependents; the projects they have conceived, and the manner in which they have executed them; the character of the men they have employed; the obſtacles they have met with, and the manner in which they have ſurmounted them: in a word, we know the ſucceſs they have had; the reward they have obtained in conſequence of it; the puniſhment they have ſuffered when they have miſcarried; the praiſe or blame beſtowed upon them by the nation; the manner in which they have ended their career, and the reputation they have left behind them after death.

We are deſirous of penetrating into the ſoul of one the greateſt men of his age, and perhaps we can never do it at a more proper time. The moſt conſpicuous actions only of a man's life are tranſmitted to poſterity, which will, therefore, be deprived of a variety of ſimple and artleſs details, that enlighten the mind of an obſerver, who lived at the time they happened.

Mr. Pitt, after having reſcued England from the kind of diſgrace it had been expoſed to in the beginning of the war, arrived to a height of ſucceſs that aſtoniſhed all the world. Whether he foreſaw this or not, he did not ſeem to be embarraſſed with it, and reſolved to carry it as far as he could. The moderation which ſo many ſtateſmen had affected before him, ſeemed to him to be only a pretence to conceal their weakneſs or their indolence. He thought that all ſtates ſhould exert their power to the utmoſt, and that there was no inſtance of one nation being able to become ſuperior to another, and not effecting it. The parallel he drew between England and France confirmed him in his opinion. He perceived, with uneaſineſs, that the power of England, founded upon a trade which ſhe might and would loſe, was very inconſiderable, when compared with that of her rival, which nature, art, and particular circumſtances, had raiſed

BOOK X. to ſuch a degree of ſtrength, under favourable adminiſtrations, as had made all Europe tremble. Senſible of this truth, he therefore determined to deprive France of her colonies, and to reduce her to that ſtate, to which the freedom of the New World, ſooner or later accompliſhed, will bring all nations that have formed ſettlements there.

The means neceſſary to complete this project, which was ſo far advanced, appeared to him abſolutely certain. While the imagination of weak minds took ſhadows for realities, the greateſt difficulties appeared trivial to him. Though the nation, of which he was the idol, was ſometimes alarmed at his vaſt and uncommon enterpriſes, he was not in the leaſt diſquieted about them; becauſe, in his eyes, the multitude was like a torrent, the courſe of which he knew how to direct which way he would.

Perfectly indifferent with regard to fortune, he was ſtill more ſo with regard to power. His ſucceſſes had made his adminiſtration abſolute. With the people he was a republican, with the nobles and the ſovereign he was a deſpotic miniſter. To think differently from him, was a mark of being an enemy to the common cauſe.

He availed himſelf of the ſuperiority he had gained, in order to excite the ardour of the people. Little influenced by that ſpecies of philoſophy, which, diveſting itſelf of the prejudices of national glory, to extend its views to the welfare of all mankind, tries every thing by the principles of univerſal reaſon; he kept up a violent and ſavage ſpirit of enthuſiaſm, which he called, and perhaps believed to be, a love of his country; but which was, in reality, nothing more than a ſtrong averſion for the nation he wanted to oppreſs.

France was perhaps as much diſcouraged by this ſpirit of inveteracy, that conſtantly purſued her, as by the diſtreſſes ſhe had undergone. The diminution, the exhauſted ſtate, or, to ſay the truth, the total ruin of her naval powers, afforded her a diſcouraging pro-

ſpect for the future. The expectation that a fortunate ſucceſs by land might occaſion a change in the face of affairs, was merely imaginary. If one of their ſquadrons had deſtroyed one or ſeveral of thoſe of her rival, the Engliſh would not have renounced any of their claims. This is one general rule; and another is, that whenever any power hath acquired a very determined ſuperiority at ſea, it can never loſe it in the courſe of the war; more particularly, if that ſuperiority can be traced from a diſtant cauſe, and eſpecially if it proceed partly from the character of the nation. The ſuperiority of one continent above another depends entirely on the abilities of a ſingle man, and may be loſt in a moment: on the contrary, ſuperiority at ſea, as it reſults from the vigilance and intereſt of each individual in the ſtate, muſt always increaſe, particularly when it is encouraged by national conſtitution: a ſudden invaſion can only put a ſtop to it.

Nothing but a general confederacy could have reſtored the balance of power; the impoſſibility of which Mr. Pitt plainly ſaw. He knew the reſtraints by which Holland was confined, the poverty of Sweden and Denmark, the inexperience of the Ruſſians, and the little regard that ſeveral of theſe powers paid to the intereſts of France. He was conſcious alſo of the terror which the Engliſh forces had ſpread among them all, the miſtruſt they entertained of each other, and the apprehenſion that each of them muſt have, that they ſhould be diſtreſſed before they could receive aſſiſtance.

The affairs of Spain were particularly circumſtanced. The ravages that laid waſte the French colonies, and which every day increaſed, might eaſily extend to the ſettlements of the Spaniards. Whether this kingdom was not, or would not be, ſenſible of the danger that threatened it, its uſual indolence accompanied it with regard to theſe great objects. At length, upon a change of miniſtry, a new ſyſtem took place. Don Carlos endeavoured to extinguiſh the flame; but it was too late. His overtures were received with a contemptuous

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haughtiness. Mr. Pitt, having deliberately considered the extent of his power, answered every proposal that was made, in the following manner: *I will listen to them,* said he, *when you have taken the Tower of London sword in hand.* This mode of expression might disgust, but it was imposing.

Such was the situation of affairs when the court of France thought herself obliged to make overtures of peace to that of Great Britain. Both courts were equally apprehensive, and with good reason, that Mr. Pitt would oppose them. He consented to enter into a negotiation; but the event showed, as sensible politicians had conjectured, that his intention was not to continue it. His design was only to furnish himself with sufficient proofs of the engagements that the two branches of the house of Bourbon had entered into against Great Britain, that he might make them evident to his country. As soon as he had gained this intelligence, he broke off the negotiation, and proposed declaring war against Spain. The superiority of the naval power of England above that of both these kingdoms, and the assurance he had that it would be infinitely better directed, inspired him with this confidence.

Mr. Pitt's system appeared, to distinguished politicians, the only important, and, indeed, the only reasonable one. The English nation had contracted such a load of debt, that it could neither free itself from it, nor support it, without opening to itself new sources of wealth. Europe, tired out with the grievances Great Britain had made her submit to, waited impatiently for an opportunity to disable her oppressor from continuing them. The house of Bourbon could not but preserve a strong resentment for the injuries it had suffered, and for the losses it had sustained; it could not but make secret preparations, and gradually work up a spirit of revenge, to which a combination of all its forces might ensure success. These motives obliged Great Britain, though a commercial power, to aggrandise itself for its support. This cruel necessity was not

fo fenfibly felt by the council of George the Third as Mr. Pitt defired. Moderation appeared to him a work of weaknefs, or of infatuation, perhaps of treachery; and he refigned his poft, becaufe he was not allowed to be the declared enemy of Spain.

May we venture to form a conjecture? The Englifh miniftry plainly faw that there was no poffibility of avoiding a frefh war; but equally tired out and difgraced by the power Mr. Pitt had affumed, they were defirous of reftoring that fpirit of equality which is the fpring of a republican government. Defpairing of being able to raife themfelves to a level with a man fo highly efteemed, or of making him ftoop to them, they united their forces to effect his ruin. As open attacks would only have turned againft themfelves, they had recourfe to more artful methods. They attempted to four his temper; the natural fire of his character laid him open to fuch a fnare; and he fell into it. If Mr. Pitt refigned his poft through peevifhnefs, he deferves to be cenfured for not having fuppreffed or maftered it. If he hoped, by this expedient, to humble his enemies, he fhowed he had greater knowledge of affairs than of men. If, as he afferted, he refigned, becaufe he would no longer be refponfible for the meafures he did not guide, we may be allowed to think that he was more ftrongly attached to his own perfonal glory, than to the interefts of his country. But whatever may have been the caufe of his refignation, nothing but the blindeft, moft unjuft, and moft violent partiality, can venture to affert, that his virtues and abilities were merely the effect of chance.

However this may be, the firft ftep the new miniftry took was conformable to the principles of Mr. Pitt; and this was a kind of homage they were compelled to pay him. It was thought neceffary to declare war againft Spain; and the Weft Indies were to be the fcene of thefe new hoftilities. Experience had already difcouraged them from making any attempts on the continent of America, and all their views were turned towards Cuba. Men of fenfe and underftanding per-

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ceived that the taking of this island would not be attended with any apprehension of vengeance from the other colonies; that the empire of the Gulf of Mexico would be secured; that the enemy, whose riches arose principally from the amount of its customs, would be deprived of all their resources; that the whole commerce of the continent would be seized upon, and the inhabitants would choose rather to deliver up their riches to the conqueror of their country, than to give up those commodities they had been used to receive from Europe; in a word, that the power of Spain would be so much reduced by this considerable loss, that it would be obliged to submit to any terms.

Agreeable to this idea, a fleet, consisting of nineteen ships of the line, eighteen frigates, and about a hundred and fifty transports, with 10,000 troops on board, which were to be joined by 4000 more from North America, set sail for the Havannah. To arrive at this formidable place, it was determined to pass through the old strait of Bahama, not so long in extent, though more dangerous than the new one. The obstacles that were to be expected in this passage, little known, and too little attended to, were successfully surmounted, in a manner worthy the reputation that Admiral Pocock had acquired. On the 6th of July he arrived at the place of his destination; and the landing of the troops was effected without any opposition, at the distance of six leagues eastward of those dreadful fortifications that were to be taken.

The operations by land were not so well conducted as those by sea. If Albemarle, who had the command of the army, had been a man of abilities, equal to the commission he was intrusted with, he would have begun his attack by the city. The single dry wall that covered it could not have holden out four-and-twenty hours. It is probable, that the generals, the council, and the regency, who must infallibly have fallen into his hands by this success, which might so easily have been obtained, would have resolved to capitulate for the Moro. At all events, he would thus have pre-

vented the fort from receiving any aſſiſtance or proviſions that were ſupplied from the city during the ſiege, and have ſecured the moſt likely means to reduce it in a very ſhort time.

The plan he purſued, of beginning his operations by the attack of the Moro, expoſed him to great diſtreſſes. The water that was near him was unwholeſome, and he found himſelf under a neceſſity of procuring ſome at three leagues diſtance from his camp. As the ſloops that were ſent for this purpoſe might be attacked, it was thought neceſſary to poſt a body of fifteen hundred men on the eminence of Aroſteguy, at a quarter of a league's diſtance from the town, in order to protect them. This body of troops, entirely detached from the army, and which could not be withdrawn or ſupported but by ſea, was perpetually in danger of being cut off.

Albemarle, who might have judged of the diſpoſition of the enemy from their not moleſting the troops poſted at Aroſteguy, ſhould have placed another body of men upon the public road leading to the city. By this ſtep he would have been able almoſt to ſurround it; he would, moſt undoubtedly, have diſtreſſed it by famine, prevented all removal of the effects into the country, and opened a leſs dangerous communication with Aroſteguy, than by the detachments he was conſtantly obliged to ſend, in order to ſupport this advanced body of troops.

The ſiege of the Moro was carried on without opening the trenches. The ſoldiers advanced towards the ditch, and were covered only with barrels of flints, which were, at length, exchanged for ſacks of cotton, that were taken out of ſome merchant-ſhips arrived from Jamaica. This want of foreſight occaſioned the loſs of a great number of men, always of great value, but more eſpecially ſo in a climate where diſeaſes and fatigues cauſe ſo great a conſumption of them.

The Engliſh general, having loſt the greateſt part of his army, and finding the neceſſity, for want of troops, of reimbarking in a few days, determined to

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attempt ſtorming the caſtle: but a large and deep ditch, cut in the rock, was firſt to be paſſed; and no preparations had been made to fill it up.

If the faults of the Engliſh were very conſiderable, thoſe of the Spaniards were ſtill greater. Though apprized above a month before, that war had commenced between the two nations, they were not rouſed from their lethargy. The enemy was already upon their coaſts, and they had made no proviſions of balls of a proper ſize for their cannons, nor of cartridges; neither had they one ſingle gun, or even a firelock fit to make uſe of.

The great number of officers, of the land and ſea ſervice, who were at the Havannah, occaſioned, during ſome days of the ſiege, a great uncertainty in the reſolutions, that could not but be favourable to the beſiegers.

Three ſhips of war were ſunk, to ſtop up the entrance into the port, which the enemy could not paſs. The road into the harbour was by this means damaged, and three great ſhips loſt to no purpoſe.

The moſt common prudence would have ſuggeſted, that the twelve men of war that were at the Havannah ſhould have been got ready to ſail. They could not poſſibly be of any ſervice in defending the place, and it was a matter of ſome conſequence to ſave them. But this was neglected. Neither did the precaution occur of ſetting them on fire, although this was the only way left to prevent them from falling into the hands of the enemy.

The deſtruction of the body of Engliſh troops poſted at Aroſteguy, where they could not receive any aſſiſtance, might have been eaſily effected. This check would have put the beſiegers to ſome difficulty in procuring water, would have deprived them of men, intimidated them, retarded their operations, and inſpired the Spaniſh forces with ſome degree of confidence. But, far from making ſo eaſy an attempt, they did not attack, even in the open part of the country, any of the Engliſh detachments, though compoſed entirely

of infantry, and which might have been oppofed by a regiment of dragoons, and a great number of militia, that were provided with horfes. BOOK X.

The communication of the city with the internal parts of the country was fcarce ever interrupted, and yet none of thofe who had a fhare in the adminiftration ever thought of conveying the royal treafure into the inland parts, to prevent it from falling into the hands of the enemy.

The laft inftance of neglect ferved to complete the whole. In the middle of the ditch had been left a piece of rock, terminating in a point, and ftanding by itfelf. The Englifh placed upon this a few tottering planks, which reached from the breach to the counterfcarp. A ferjeant, with fifteen men, paffed over them at one in the afternoon, and concealed themfelves among fome ftones that had fallen down. They were followed by a company of grenadiers, and fome foldiers. When they had collected about a hundred men, in the fpace of an hour, they got upon the breach, under no apprehenfion of being difcovered, and found no men placed there to defend it. Velafco, indeed, informed of what had happened, haftened to fave the place; but he was killed in coming up; and his death putting the Spanifh troops that followed him into confufion, they furrendered to a handful of men. The neglect of placing a centinel to obferve the motions of the enemy lodged upon the ditch, determined this great event. A few days after, a capitulation was entered into for the city, for all the places of the colony, and for the whole ifland. Independent of the great importance of this victory in itfelf, the conquerors found in the Havannah about forty-five millions [1,875,000l.] of filver, and other valuable effects, which fully indemnified them for the expences of the expedition.

Advantages procured to Great Britain in the iflands by the peace.

The lofs of Cuba, the centre of the power of Spain in the New World, made peace as neceffary to the court of Madrid, as it could poffibly be to that of Verfailles, whofe diftreffes were now brought to the high-

eſt pitch. The Engliſh miniſtry, at that time, conſented to a peace; but it ſeemed a matter of much difficulty to ſettle the conditions. The ſucceſſes of Great Britain had been aſtoniſhing in North and South America. But, however ambitious ſhe might be, ſhe could not flatter herſelf with the hopes of retaining all the conqueſts ſhe had made. It was reaſonable to ſuppoſe that ſhe would give up the poſſeſſions ſhe had gained in North America, as the advantages ſhe might expect from them were diſtant, inconſiderable, and uncertain; and that ſhe would be content with reſerving to herſelf the ſugar colonies ſhe had lately acquired, which the ſtate of her finances ſeemed more particularly to require. The increaſe of her cuſtoms, that was a neceſſary conſequence of ſuch a ſyſtem, would have procured her the beſt ſinking fund that could have been imagined, and which muſt have been ſo much the more agreeable to the nation, as it would have been obtained at the expence of the French. This advantage would have been attended with three others, very conſiderable. It would, in the firſt place, have deprived a rival power, and formidable, notwithſtanding the faults it had committed, of its richeſt branch of trade. Secondly, it would have contributed to weaken it, from its being under a neceſſity of defending Canada; a colony, which, from the nature of its ſituation, muſt be detrimental to a nation that had long neglected its navy. Laſtly, it would have kept New England in a cloſer and more abſolute dependence on the mother-country, a part of America that would always want to be ſupported againſt a reſtleſs, active, and warlike neighbour.

But though the council of George III. ſhould have thought it neceſſary to reſtore to their enemies a bad country of the continent, and to reſerve the valuable iſlands, yet they would not, perhaps, have ventured to adopt ſo judicious a meaſure. In other countries the faults of the miniſters are imputed only to themſelves, or to their kings, who puniſh them for their miſconduct. In England, the errors of adminiſtration are

generally the errors of the nation, who inſiſt upon obedience to their will, though guided by caprice.

The Engliſh, who have complained of the terms of the laſt peace, when they have been ſhown how far ſhort they fell of the advantages they expected from them, had, however, in ſome meaſure, dictated thoſe very terms themſelves, by the tenor of their complaints, either previous to, or during the war. The Canadians had committed ſome outrages, and the ſavages many acts of cruelty, in the Engliſh colonies. The peaceable inhabitants, terrified at the diſtreſſes they ſuffered, and more ſo at thoſe they feared, had cauſed their clamours to be heard even in Europe. Their correſpondents, intereſted to obtain them a ſpeedy and powerful redreſs, had aggravated their complaints. Thoſe writers, who eagerly lay hold of every circumſtance that can render the French odious, had loaded them with every ſpecies of invective. The people, exaſperated by the report of the ſhocking ſcenes that were perpetually preſented to its imagination, wiſhed to ſee a ſtop put to theſe barbarities.

On the other hand, the inhabitants of the ſugar colonies, ſatisfied with the carrying on of their own commerce, and gaining a part of that of their enemies, were very quiet. Far from wiſhing the conqueſt of their neighbours ſettlements, they rather dreaded it, conſidering it as deſtructive to themſelves, though advantageous to the nation. The lands of the French are ſo much ſuperior to thoſe of the Engliſh, that no competition could poſſibly have taken place. Their allies were of the ſame opinion, and followed the example of their moderation.

The conſequence of ſo contrary a plan of conduct was, that the nation was extremely indifferent about the ſugar colonies, but very anxious to acquire what they wanted in North America. Let us repreſent to ourſelves the ſituation of an enlightened man, who is convinced of the advantages of a project, which he is compelled to give up, by the miſtaken notions of a deceived multitude, in order to adopt, in preference to

BOOK X. it, fome abfurd fchemes contrary to the general good, which will difhonour him, if he fhould purfue them, or which will expofe him to danger, if he fhould refufe: let us reprefent him to ourfelves, as employed by a fovereign, who will difmifs him, if his rebellious fubjects fhould infift upon it; and who cannot afford him any protection, if they fhould carry their fury fo far as to demand his life: let us view him divided, as he muft be, between the miftaken vanity which attaches him to his poft, and the laudable pride which makes him careful to preferve his reputation: let us behold him alone, retired in his clofet, and deliberating upon the fteps he fhould take, amidft the tumult and clamours of the populace, collected round his houfe, and threatening to fet it on fire: for fuch is the alternative, which hath been experienced, and will always be experienced, by thofe who guide the public affairs of a free country. There is fcarce one fingle fituation in the world, in which a propriety of conduct is not attended with inconveniences on both fides. It is the property of real courage to adapt itfelf to thofe feveral circumftances and fituations, whatever may be the refult; but fuch kind of courage is not often to be met with.

The miniftry, which, in England, can never fupport its authority againft the people, or, at leaft, cannot long maintain itfelf fuccefsfully againft its general odium, turned all their views towards North America, and found France and Spain readily difpofed to adopt fuch a fyftem. The courts of Madrid and France gave up to the Englifh all their former poffeffions, from the river St. Lawrence up to the Miffiffippi. Befide this, France ceded the iflands of Granada and Tobago, and confented that the Englifh fhould keep the iflands of St. Vincent and Dominica, that had been confidered as neutral, provided that, on her part, fhe might appropriate St. Lucia to herfelf. On thefe conditions, the conquerors reftored to the allied powers all the conquefts they had made in America.

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The British ministry did not extend their views as far as the situation of things permitted

From this time England lost the opportunity, which, perhaps, may never return, of seizing all the avenues, and making itself master of the sources of all the wealth of the New World. Mexico was in its power, as the English only were in possession of the gulf that opens the way to it; this valuable continent must, therefore, soon have become their property. It might have been allured, either by the offers of an easier government, or by the flattering hopes of liberty: the Spaniards might have been invited to shake off the yoke of the mother-country, which only took up arms to distress its colonies, and not to protect them; or the Indians might have been tempted to break the chains that enslaved them to an arbitrary government. The whole face of America might, perhaps, have been entirely changed, and the English, more free and more equitable than other monarchical powers, could not but be benefited by rescuing the human race from the oppressions they suffered in the New World, and by removing the injuries this oppression hath brought on Europe in particular.

All those subjects, who are victims of the severity, exactions, oppression, and deceit of arbitrary governments; all those families that are ruined by the raising of soldiers, by the ravages of armies, by the loans for carrying on war, and by the infractions of peace; all men born to think and live as men, instead of obeying and becoming subject like brutes, would have gladly taken refuge in those countries. These, as well as a multitude of workmen without employment; of husbandmen without land; of men of science without any occupation; and numbers of distressed and unfortunate persons, would have flown into these regions, which require only just and civilized inhabitants to render them happy. Above all, the peasants of the north, slaves to the nobility, who trample upon them, would certainly have been invited there: those Russian peasants, who are employed as executioners to torture the human race, instead of cultivating and fertilizing the earth. Numbers of them would certainly

BOOK X. have been loſt in theſe tranſmigrations through extenſive ſeas, into new climates; but this would have been an infinitely leſs evil than that of a tyranny, working by ſlow and artful means, and ſacrificing ſo many people to the wills of a ſmall number of men. In a word, the Engliſh would have been much more glorioully employed in ſupporting and favouring ſo happy a revolution, than in tormenting themſelves in defence of a liberty, that excites the envy of all kings, and which they endeavour, by every method, to undermine and deſtroy.

This is a wiſh, which, though founded on juſtice and humanity, is yet, alas! vain in itſelf, as it leaves nothing but regret in the mind of him that formed it. Muſt then the deſires of the virtuous man for the proſperity of the world be for ever loſt, while thoſe of the ambitious and the extravagant are ſo often favoured by caſual events?

Since war hath been the cauſe of ſo much evil, why does it not run through every ſpecies of calamity, that it may, at length, tend to procure ſome good? But what hath been the conſequence of the laſt war, one of thoſe that hath been the moſt diſtreſsful to the human race? It hath occaſioned ravages in the four quarters of the globe; and hath coſt Europe alone above a million of its inhabitants. Thoſe who were not its victims are now diſtreſſed by it, and their poſterity will long be oppreſſed under the weight of the enormous taxes it hath given riſe to. The nation, whom victory attended in all parts, was ruined by its triumphs. Its public debt, which, at the beginning of the war, did not exceed 1,617,087,060 livres [67,378,627l. 10s.], aroſe, at the concluſion of the peace, to 3,330,000,000 livres [138,750,000l.], for which it muſt pay an intereſt of 111,577,490 livres [4,649,062l. 1s. 8d.]

But it is time to quit the ſubject of war. Let us now proceed to conſider by what means the nations, who have divided the great Archipelago of America, that hath been the origin of ſo many quarrels and ne-

gotiations, and hath given rise to so many reflections, have been able to raise it to a degree of opulence, that may, without exaggeration, be considered as the first cause of all the great events that at present disturb the peace of the globe.

END OF THE THIRD VOLUME.